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The Shape of Things

THE FRENCH CHAMBER OF DEPUTIES BY 321 votes to 264 and the Senate by 286 to 17 have in effect suspended the Constitution of the French Republic and suppressed democracy in France until the end of next November. A dictatorship has been set up which will almost certainly be of a quasi-fascist character and which may lead to the establishment of a fascist regime in France. The new law authorizes the French Cabinet "to take by decree until November 30, 1939, all appropriate measures to maintain and increase the strength of France." The power to legislate by decree is thus unlimited, for there is no authority in France except Parliament able to decide whether any given decree comes within the scope of the law, and Parliament will be silenced until after November 30. After that date the decrees must be ratified by the Chamber before the end of this year, but will the Chamber then be allowed to meet?

IT IS IMPOSSIBLE TO ACCEPT THE PRETEXT that Daladier will use his dictatorial powers only for national defense. If that is true, why did he refuse to agree to any limitation? Why did he insist on being given power to dissolve the Communist Party or establish a press censorship unless he intended to use the power? The censorship will probably be applied in the first place to press telegrams, and there will be one more European country where foreign correspondents are prevented from telling the truth. The fact that Daladier has asked for and obtained dictatorial powers certainly does not mean that he will adopt a firm policy toward Germany and Italy. Such a policy would have the support of the very people against whom the powers will primarily be used. Daladier would not have had the support of all the friends of Hitler and Mussolini in the Chamber, as he did, had they believed that a real stand was to be made against the totalitarian aggressors. P. J. Philip, the Paris correspondent of the New York *Times*, who is exceptionally well informed about the intentions of the French reactionaries and pro-fascists, said in his dispatch Sunday: "Some quarters believe that French diplomatic action is more

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likely to be directed soon toward mending the Franco-Italian situation than toward assisting Rumania." It is probable that these quarters are right and that new capitulations to Mussolini are to be expected.

*

THE NOMINATION OF WILLIAM O. DOUGLAS to fill the vacancy created on the Supreme Court by the retirement of Louis D. Brandeis can hardly fail of confirmation by the Senate and will meet with much approval and little criticism. *The Nation* in a recent issue expressed some misgivings as to the breadth of his qualifications. It does not question his learning, integrity, or loyalty to the New Deal, nor does it deny that he has on the whole done a good job as chairman of the Securities and Exchange Commission. We sincerely hope that as justice Mr. Douglas will prove our doubts groundless and show himself a worthy successor to the most consistent progressive ever to sit on the Supreme Court of the United States.

*

WHEN THE "REFORM" COMMITTEE OF THE New York Stock Exchange took over last May, we were given to understand that the bad old days were gone for ever. The Stock Exchange was in future to be governed in the spirit of the securities acts, and its aim would be to provide not a casino but a genuine investment market. Speculation, naturally, could not be completely abolished, but no longer would the speculative tail wag the investment dog. In the past ten months, however, not much visible progress has been made, while the murmurings of brokers against restrictions have been growing louder. Wall Street is arguing that business recovery needs increased investment, which is dependent on broader and more active markets, which in turn can only be created by giving greater scope to speculators. In accordance with these ideas a committee representing sixteen stock exchanges has sent a statement to the SEC suggesting a number of revisions to the securities acts. Some of their proposals, particularly those bearing on the simplification of prospectuses, are worth consideration. But others are inherently vicious, and we are glad that Chairman W. O. Douglas of the SEC has promptly exposed their nature. The committee complained of the vagueness of Section 9-a (2) of the Securities Exchange Act, which aims at eliminating manipulation, particularly by pool operations. Mr. Douglas points out that the alternative wording suggested would call upon the SEC "to foresee and define every conceivable variety of manipulation. Such a procedure might well result in the ceaseless invention of new techniques to evade regulation." Again the stock exchanges want to repeal completely the prohibition against short-term trading by insiders under penalty of paying all profits to the corporation involved. This would be a further encouragement to pool operators, who in the past have been most successful when operating in conjunction with insiders.

*

THE REFUSAL OF THE HOUSE WAYS AND Means Committee to extend the protection of social security to the employees of non-profit organizations, to domestic workers, or to farm laborers comes as a bitter shock. Of all the changes proposed by the Social Security Board, the extension of coverage seemed most likely to be accepted. President Roosevelt has definitely promised such a change on several occasions. The Advisory Council and the Social Security Board were both unanimous in recommending it. It is true that certain technical difficulties are involved in bringing domestic employees and farm labor under the act, but no one is more familiar with these difficulties than the Social Security Board which recommended their inclusion. No technical difficulties exist, however, with respect to the employees of religious, charitable, and educational organizations. Nor has any plausible argument been advanced why such persons, numbering several million, should be denied the rights now granted the majority of American employees as a matter of course. Several churches, it is true, have disgraced the principles they profess by opposing the inclusion of their employees, thus provoking much sardonic comment among hard-boiled Congressmen. But they have failed to show any reason why there should be discrimination against organizations performing public service. It is to be hoped that the protest against the committee's decision will be strong enough to force a reversal on the floor of the House.

*

THERE WAS A MINIMUM OF SUBTLETY IN Congressional handling of the Barkley amendment to the Air Corps Expansion bill. The amendment, which would have prohibited the award of national-defense contracts to industrialists who violate the Wagner Act, was buried by the House-Senate conferees and is unlikely to rise again. The episode merely emphasized for the benefit of latecomers that business men can be as patriotic as anyone, but only if offered a decent rake-off. Conservatives who have been lamenting the President's "alarmism" over Europe suddenly warned that the enemy was at the gates, with the plain implication that this is no time for collective bargaining. Wasn't it clear, they wanted to know, that industrialists couldn't serve their country efficiently if they were harassed by labor laws? Apparently that was perfectly clear, for after a minor skirmish led by Administration supporters the subject was adroitly dropped. It is naive, we concede, to imagine a large-scale arms program which will not ultimately violate many of the amenities of industrial relations, but this performance was as premature as it was clumsy. The projected

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amendment would merely have empowered the government to discriminate against firms which flout its laws. Under those conditions, it was pretty bluntly indicated, industrialists won't show much school spirit.

*

STARTLING NEWS COMES FROM PUERTO RICO —startling for those who have been unaware that that unhappy island was heading straight for disaster. At the close of the present sugar-harvesting season 110,000 workers will be unemployed, and altogether some 750,000 persons will be in need of immediate relief. With only $6,000,000 of relief money in sight, an economic congress of 300 persons, called by bankers, merchants, and industrialists, met in San Juan on March 12 and voted to demand of Congress an immediate referendum as to the future political status of the island. Plainly the most conservative forces called the congress, and they consulted in advance with the reactionary Governor, General Winship. Every effort was made to keep politics out, and there was no mention of statehood or independence in the resolution as passed. Yet when, after nearly twelve hours of discussion, the resolution calling upon the legislature to demand the referendum from Congress came up, so many people were standing and cheering that no formal vote was taken. Thus the chief economic interests have paved the way for a vote which may demand independence or, if not that, in all likelihood, statehood. When Senator Tydings proposed such a referendum two years ago and offered a bill to that effect, no one denounced him so much as the big business men. Congress cannot overlook this new development, for the Administration in Washington well knows that if something is not done soon for Puerto Rico there will be widespread violence, bloodshed, and starvation—providing the Hitler press with another opportunity to jibe at American hypocrisy in Puerto Rico.

*

THOSE WHO HAVE FOLLOWED THE PRO-NAZI activities and speeches of Senator Reynolds of North Carolina will not be surprised at his latest exploit. In a speech printed in the *Congressional Record* of February 1 he quoted the following sentence from an interview which he said Erika Mann had given the New York *World-Telegram:* "I have no hesitancy in calling for the blood of the sons of American mothers just so I can get even with that government which I despise." The interview was printed in the *World-Telegram* on January 27. Miss Mann in a letter to that newspaper calls attention to the fact that she made no such statement and that no such statement appeared in the interview. The Senator is guilty of exactly the kind of barefaced whopper used by the Nazis he admires. We wonder whether he and Goebbels had a nice long chat on propaganda technique when the Senator from North Carolina was in Berlin last year.

Munich: Act II

THE tragedy of Czechoslovakia—and Europe—moves rapidly. When the curtain fell at Munich, Hitler, breathing self-determination, was leading away his victim. In the wings stood the faithless friends who had bound and delivered her, attempting to convince each other, and the world, that by her sacrifice peace was saved. After five and a half months the curtain rises again. Hitler's jack-boot now rests upon a corpse. His mask, never well-adjusted, is ripped off; the imperial purple is about his shoulders. In belated horror Chamberlain and Daladier gaze at the "Aggrandizer of the Reich."

Hitler's inclusion of Czechoslovakia within his empire marks the adoption of new tactics and slogans. When he began his career of treaty-breaking his professed aim was to reverse the "crime of Versailles," and he found a road smoothed by the guilty consciences of Britain and France. Next he exploited Wilsonian "self-determination" and under this banner gathered in without opposition Austria and the Sudetenland. Now he turns to an all-embracing theory that can excuse any aggression. By the "law of self-preservation" the *Herrenvolk,* the superior German people, are entitled to more "living space" and lordship over inferior races such as the Slavs.

In tune with the new theory is a revival of the old imperial tradition, in fact, of two imperial traditions. In addition to assuming the mantle of the Hapsburgs, Hitler looks back to Otto I, who in the tenth century conquered Bohemia for the German crown. This is the basis for the claim in Hitler's proclamation that "for a thousand years Bohemia and Moravia have been part of the living space of the German people." If this is to be a precedent, nearly all Europe comes within the range of Nazi ambitions. Otto's empire included the Netherlands, part of Belgium, France, and Switzerland, nearly all of Italy, and part of Croatia. Addition of the Hapsburg heirlooms would bring in Hungary and large portions of Poland, Rumania, and Yugoslavia. A sobering thought for Mussolini, whose prospects of compensation in the Mediterranean have probably been postponed once again by the latest Nazi coup! But no matter what his feelings, he is bound fast to the axis. Sink or swim he must stick to Germany.

In the circumstances the Duce must take what comfort he can from the thought that, in a showdown with Britain and France, the strategic position of the fascist powers has been immensely strengthened. The seizure of Czechoslovakia is a long step toward the organization of Southeastern Europe as a war supply base. Since Munich Poland, Rumania, and Yugoslavia have shown some signs of resistance to the destiny Hitler has decreed for them. The two former have been flirting with Russia, and all have been seeking aid from the west in reducing their economic dependence on the Reich. The fate of the

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Czechs is intended to be a warning against such impertinent activities.

Poland now is half surrounded by the German army. The Slovak protectorate forms a wedge between it and Hungary for which the precarious link supplied by the Hungarian seizure of Carpatho-Ukraine is quite inadequate compensation. Moreover, that move by Budapest had the benevolent approval of Berlin. Why? Perhaps because disorders in Hungary's new territory—and disorders are easily fomented—would give the Reich an excuse to "protect" not merely Carpatho-Ukraine but the whole of Hungary. Again Hungary's military activities are bringing masses of its troops close to the Rumanian frontier, making incidents possible and arousing the suspicions of Bucharest. Fear of Hungarian irredentism is a method of putting pressure on Rumania to accede to German economic demands—a method already bearing fruit.

HITLER'S LOOT

That is one of the indirect economic consequences of the march to Prague. The immediate results are even more imposing. Of first importance is the loot in gold and foreign currencies which was so quickly and avidly seized. The Reich this year has been hard-pressed for means to pay for vital raw materials. The Austrian plunder has been used up; exports continue to decrease. The new protectorates are self-sufficing so far as food is concerned, and their inclusion in the Reich again gives the Sudetenland access to its natural sources of supply. The industrial equipment of Bohemia and Moravia makes an imposing addition to German resources. The Skoda works are reputed to be the most efficient munitions works in Europe. They equipped the Czech army of one and one-half million and did a huge export business. Of importance also are the Czech steel, machine, airplane, and motor industries. It is probable that the new owners will greatly extend these factories, for strategically they are perfectly placed. Within its mountain ring the Bohemian plain is safer from aerial attack, particularly from the west, than any spot in the old Reich.

Germany's conquest still leaves it short of raw materials. Czechoslovakia has some coal and iron ore, and large timber reserves to supplement the Austrian forests which have been so ruthlessly stripped since Anschluss. But on the whole it was a country which imported raw materials, paying for them with manufactures. It is clear that its foreign markets for the latter will now be much restricted. Consequently when the stolen gold is dissipated, Germany's raw-material problem will be intensified by the necessity of feeding Czech factories. There is one raw material, however, of which Germany is desperately in need, to be found within its new colony. That is labor. There are 200,000 unemployed in Czechoslovakia, and when the army is disbanded there will be another 250,000. With Germany hard-pressed to find enough men for both fields and factories, this pool of labor is regarded greedily. It is said that thousands of agricultural workers will be drafted to German farms, while industrial workers will be employed in extending local production. But how efficient will this slave labor prove? In the long years of oppression under the Hapsburgs, the Czechs acquired great skill in sabotage; it is unlikely that they have wholly forgotten the art.

Now, of course, they come under taskmasters more efficient and more ruthless than the Austrians. There can be no doubt that persecution will be intense. Already the Gestapo has swooped down on Prague and made thousands of arrests. Cultural autonomy is promised, and existing laws are to be maintained "in so far as they do not run counter to the spirit of the German Reich." It is not hard to foresee that these promises will prove worthless. The people who have flocked these past few days to the shrine of St. Wenceslaus, their national hero, will not be easily *gleichgeschaltet*. And the Nazis will be led to attempt suppression of every manifestation of the national spirit, to follow the same course Mussolini has followed in South Tyrol. It is a task calculated to subdue even Nazi self-confidence.

SELF-PRESERVATION FOR THE DEMOCRACIES

Faced by an open avowal of German ambitions and a great extension of German economic and military strength, are the democracies going to stir at last? The first reactions of the British and French governments were completely spineless. On March 14, when German troops were already crossing the border, Premier Chamberlain told the House of Commons that while he bitterly regretted the German action as something not contemplated at Munich, he would not associate himself with charges of ill-faith. Two days later he adopted a very different tone, for in the interval the cup of British shame, disillusion, and anger had flowed over. In his speech at Birmingham Chamberlain continued to defend Munich, but he denounced Hitler in terms which appeared to mark the end of the "appeasement" policy. Moreover, words have since been followed by deeds. The British ambassador to Berlin has been recalled, the Anglo-German trade parley has been canceled, recognition of Germany's protectorate has been refused, and consultations have been started with other interested powers, including Russia. British alarm has been increased by reports of Nazi pressure on Rumania, whose oil might prove the decisive factor in a war. Russia is equally concerned in the maintenance of Rumanian integrity, and this real coincidence of interests may prove the basis for an Anglo-Soviet understanding of first importance.

We should feel more confident, however, of the ability of democratic Europe to make a stand were it not hampered by tainted leadership. Eleventh-hour conversions are insufficient proof of that courage, conviction, and

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drive essential for the construction of a determined front against fascism. For those peoples in Europe who value democracy, freedom, civilization itself, the issue is now one of self-preservation. If Hitler's murder of Czechoslovakia can shake them into forcing leadership commensurate with the crisis, it may yet prove a crime fatal to its author. But the time is short.

A New NRA

THERE are only three ways of dealing with a monopoly. One is to break it up. Another is to regulate it. The third is to bring it under government ownership. Experience has shown that though some trusts have been broken up by law—the Standard Oil and tobacco trusts are examples—the operation has been more than nine-tenths illusory and the results have been negligible. The remedy of regulation—whether by administrative commission or the kind of self-regulation with government blessing that we had under the NRA—has proved as ineffective. Few dare suggest the third alternative, for liberals must be as fervent in their denial of "socialistic" ideas as were their British counterparts of 150 years ago in denying any sympathy with regicidal democratic Jacobins. There was a time when American progressives ventured to suggest this solution—William Jennings Bryan did in the case of the railroads—but the terrific clamor of "communism" that has greeted most of the New Deal's reforms has pretty well frightened their successors. Thus in the monopoly inquiry the New Dealers oscillate between the two futilities—solution by another attempt at "trust-busting," and acceptance of monopoly practices under some system of government "supervision."

The older "New Dealers"—most of them were New Dealers before the New Deal—lean toward the first; the younger men toward the latter. Though they are careful to disavow any intention of reviving the NRA, some of these younger New Dealers, notably Leon Henderson and Jerome Frank, seem definitely headed in that direction. "It seems to me that in a given industry of an integrated character," Mr. Frank suggested at one of the recent hearings, "if all the units of that industry could confer with one another and with the government and with the producers of the raw materials (if there be any, if it isn't a raw-material industry and doesn't do its own extracting), with the persons who buy the product, with labor, and with ultimate consumers, and ascertain in a given year what an intelligent price and production schedule would be; in other words, try to ascertain by canvassing the entire situation, by procuring adequate information of the kind that unfortunately we have too little of, just how much of the product, by means of a given reduction of prices could and would be absorbed by the ultimate consumer." Fundamentally, let Mr. Frank deny it as he will, this is the NRA idea all over again.

It is a monument to the hope that springs eternal that Mr. Frank and Mr. Henderson should still lean toward the NRA solution. For both were in Washington during the NRA days and their brave attempts to make the NRA and the similar AAA marketing-code machinery work as they were supposed to work met with the most dismal kind of failure. Mr. Frank was run over by the meat trust while Mr. Henderson and his consumers' advisory counselors were soon reduced to querulous impotence. As Willis J. Ballinger of the (very anti-NRA) Federal Trade Commission said of Mr. Frank and Mr. Henderson and the other idealistic young NRA men, "They put up a tremendous battle on the inside but they got licked." And in our opinion that is the inevitable fate of blue eaglets; the NRA idea is merely the trust sugar-coated—and the sugar coating soon wears off.

Loving Hitler Less

FOR a long time we Americans, in office and out, have enjoyed the luxury of criticizing British and French vacillations in foreign policy without meanwhile developing a recognizable policy of our own. Now at last our chickens have come home to roost. Within a few days the United States will probably have to make up its mind whether or not to join a "stop Hitler" conference with Britain, France, and Russia and a group of lesser, threatened states. The differences of opinion already emerging in Congress reflect similar divisions in the country. Hitler marched not only into Czechoslovakia; he marched into the United States as well. And we are not ready for him.

It is true that our State Department met him with strong words and prompt action. Sumner Welles's statement last week was as forthright as that of Benes himself —and it antedated Mr. Chamberlain's speech at Birmingham by several hours. The refusal of the government to recognize the conquests of Czechoslovakia is in line with recent American practice; apart from its effect abroad, this position will enable Mr. Hurban, the Czechoslovak minister, intrenched in the legation against all comers, to work with other prominent Czechs, including Jan Masaryk and Eduard Benes, for the ultimate restoration of their republic. The decision to jack up our tariff rates on German goods by 25 per cent became a political act through its very timing. In effect it is an official boycott, a gesture of economic warfare, and Germany clearly recognizes it as such. This move was followed by a proposal by Senator Pittman to amend the Neutrality Act to permit the sale of arms on a cash-and-carry basis to nations at war.

So much for Administration measures. The President and his advisers are clearly ready for strong action "short

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of war." Their line is bolder and more intelligible than it has been at any time. The period of sniping and moralizing seems to be past.

But a stiffer stand in the Administration is certain to be met by stiff resistance. Already the isolationist Senators are voicing their alarm. Borah "assumes" that we will refuse to take part in an anti-Hitler conference. Wheeler, while apparently accepting the cash-and-carry amendment to the Neutrality Act, urges that we "mind our own business." Clark announces that he will fight for a tighter neutrality law with no loopholes for executive discrimination. As war becomes more probable, as the dangers to Europe and the world multiply, we shall see, I am certain, an increasing reluctance in Congress to rush to the rescue.

The public will share that reluctance. It is a thankless and dangerous job we are invited to undertake. If we tackle it as a people and a nation we should do so without illusions. The hour has come that all intelligent people feared: war looms as the probable last resort of powers that refused to move until their own existence was threatened. Democratic Spain is dead—or all but dead—and fascism waits along the undefended southern border of France. Last week Germany gained control not so much of a country as of 1,400 planes, 200 tanks, full equipment for 1,500,000 troops, upward of $100,000,000 in desperately needed gold and foreign exchange, a new supply of labor power, and the finest munitions works on the continent of Europe. And suddenly the statesmen, though admitting no past errors, wake up and wonder. Perhaps betrayal doesn't pay after all. Perhaps "appeasement," at the expense of everyone but yourself, is more costly than you believed.

Of course enlightenment is a good thing. It is fine to have Mr. Chamberlain and M. Daladier learn at last what has been common knowledge in New York and Kamchatka and even London—that Adolf Hitler's promises are nothing more than the small change of diplomatic negotiation, worth whatever he can get for them. It is good that the powers are, at last, aware of the old truth that peace is not to be bought by cowardice and treason or international order built on the destruction of democracy and of the instruments of collective action. All this is good; because the facts of life must be faced even when they spell death.

But is it possible to applaud them without misgivings? Is it easy to applaud at all in the bitter knowledge that the awakening has come in all probability too late to avert war but just about in time to wage it? Flanked by the corpses of Spain and Czechoslovakia, the powers now move to "stop Hitler." And they ask the United States to help. Shall we do so? The answer must be based on somber calculation, not enthusiasm. We are faced with an alternative of evils.

The Administration has already chosen. It is supporting Britain and France against the threat implied in Hitler's new drive. The position of the State Department is easy to understand. Without defining its policy, it has generally trailed the British Foreign Office in the past few years. Our embargo against Spain was an integral part of the non-intervention maneuver. Mr. Roosevelt's approval of the British-Italian agreement was used as an indorsement for the Chamberlain policy of appeasement-at-any-price. The President's two notes to Hitler in the days of wrath last fall were a constructive aid to the Nazi drive that has now reached its logical climax. The Administration has on several occasions, it is true, gone farther than the gentlemen at Whitehall in showing displeasure at Nazi *Schrecklichkeit*. It was to be expected, then, that in the present emergency, when even Neville Chamberlain shows signs of firmness, the President and his advisers would clearly express their willingness to take sides.

Congress and the public are another matter. Pacifists, isolationists, and common-or-garden Republicans will attack the Administration stand. And even those who have urged a positive anti-fascist policy will think twice about commitments in Europe. But in the end, I predict, the general sentiment will favor measures of aid for Britain and France.

It is not that we love Chamberlain and Daladier more but that we love Hitler less. It is not that we trust the governments of Britain and France to create a democratic, peaceful Europe. It is only that we are convinced that a conquest of Europe by Hitler and the subjection of its peoples to the rule of fascism would for many years obliterate even the semblance of human freedom in a large part of the world. We are not—most of us—fanatics who fear a fleet of Nazi planes over New York or the Panama Canal. Rather we fear the gradual crumbling of the economic and political and cultural relationships of men and nations until we all shall be forced, in order to survive, to fit into the framework of a Nazi world.

I believe that this is the present feeling of the average American as he switches on the evening news broadcast. Expressed in terms of policy, it means a change in the Neutrality Law to permit sales of supplies to the non-fascist powers in case of war and a willingness to consult on other possible measures of resistance. This much at least. Whether public sentiment would also support a complete and open rupture of trade and diplomatic relations with the fascist powers, I do not know. I rather doubt it. But such a move would be the logical next step beyond where we now stand.

Further than this we are not likely soon to go. The sympathies of the United States were trampled into the earth of Austria and Spain and Czechoslovakia. They are not likely to be resurrected by Messrs. Daladier and Chamberlain even in their hour of need.

FREDA KIRCHWEY

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You Can't Appease Business

BY KENNETH G. CRAWFORD

Washington, March 20

DEVELOPMENTS of the last month in Washington add up to only one conclusion: American business is as unappeasable as Hitler. New Dealers, prodded by John Hanes and Harry Hopkins, have all but turned themselves inside out demonstrating the sincerity of their attempt to give the business community what it wants. But business remains unconvinced. Markets refuse to respond. Either business is what Charlie Curtis told an audience of Iowa farmers they were in the 1928 campaign, "too damned dumb to understand," or it is actually so determined to ruin Roosevelt that it is willing to subordinate profits to principles. Students of business behaviorism discount the second possibility.

The fact is, whether business believes it or not, that Hopkins, Hanes, and company are desperately trying to surrender to Wall Street on something like reasonable terms. Perceiving that the irresistible reactionary swing which started in the 1938 election is still on, the more politically minded of the New Dealers have decided to run with it and, if possible, run fast enough to get out in front and lead it. The warning of Solicitor General Jackson that they will be outdistanced by the Republicans in any such race has not deterred them. As the President's favorite and the man who stands to gain most by refuting Jackson's theory, Hopkins has dashed into the rail position. The President is lagging a few paces, but there is every indication that Hopkins has persuaded him to go along.

The trend is obvious from an examination of post-election events. After the failure of his purge campaign, Roosevelt at first refused to bow to political expediency. Instead, he set about doing what he could to pin down his reforms, strengthen his Cabinet by the Hopkins and Murphy appointments, liberalize federal agencies by such nominations as that of Tom Amlie for the ICC, and refurbish the judiciary by replacing Judge Manton with a Republican and calling Felix Frankfurter to the Supreme Court.

After Hopkins's appointment as Secretary of Commerce and his business-must-have-confidence speech in Iowa, the direction suddenly changed. The President consented to a revamping of business taxes—undistributed-profits, excess-profits, and capital-stock levies included—in favor of a simplified corporation tax. While he turned thumbs down on any reduction in the sum total of revenue, he consented to consider proposals to raze the tax structure he had so laboriously constructed and to abandon his budget-message request for new taxes to produce $400,000,000 a year additional revenue. He also, it appears, encouraged Murphy to revive the often repeated experiment of granting business at least partial immunity from the anti-trust laws.

In another even more important but generally unappreciated gesture to business he instituted a resumption of peace negotiations between the A. F. of L. and the C. I. O. Coming at a time when the A. F. of L. was riding the crest of the reactionary wave as a part-time ally of the National Association of Manufacturers, and the C. I. O. was feeling the after-effects of political reverses and the recession, this move definitely imperiled the position of the C. I. O., the President's biggest and staunchest supporting unit. Business, which has been harassed by jurisdictional fights, and the A. F. of L., which has been outmaneuvered consistently until now by John Lewis, stand to benefit most from any agreement that can emerge from the conferences.

On top of all this the President gave business definite assurances that there would be no new reforms. He will make good this promise willy-nilly. Even if he wanted to break it, as business contends he has broken previous promises of breathing spells, it would be impossible. There is not the slightest chance for any new reform bill to get through the present Congress, with the possible exception of Senator Wagner's legislation to extend the socialized-medicine frontier a few inches.

But there is one thing more business wants if its spokesmen mean what they say—government economy. Actually, enlightened leaders of business are no more anxious for government economy than are the unemployed, who would be the first to starve by it. They know as well as anyone else that to pull the government purse-strings tight would do again what it did in 1937. This time, indeed, the recession might be a tailspin. With polls of public opinion showing that a majority of voters are attracted by the plausible argument that the government ought to quit throwing its money around and balance the budget, as every prudent family must, it is all right for Pat Harrison, Arthur Vandenberg, and the rest of the Republico-Democrats to talk for political effect about economy. Business would be the first to squawk if it thought they intended to make good.

The realities of the situation clearly indicate not less but more spending. At the very time when he was braying about economy, Harrison was quietly pushing his

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$100,000,000 educational-aid bill. Vandenberg, meanwhile, was leading the fight for liberalization of the Social Security Act along lines which may boost its cost some $500,000,000. Both the Harrison and Vandenberg bills have a chance for enactment. So have the $500,000,000 public-works bill sponsored by Joe Starnes and the $250,000,000 agricultural-relief bill. It is probable, too, that Congress, after some vigorous kicking, will appropriate the additional $150,000,000 needed for relief.

There is a distinct possibility that acts of the present Congress will throw President Roosevelt's budget as much as one billion further out of balance than it was when it was submitted last January. All this spending, coupled with the announcement of Marriner S. Eccles, chairman of the Federal Reserve Board, that the credit throttle will be kept open, holds the promise of a greater degree of business recovery in the next two years than anything the country has had under the New Deal. The day-to-day news from Washington emphasizes economy, but the chances for real economy are nil.

Developments in Europe also are bullish despite the immediate adverse market reaction to Hitler's Central European plunderings. Government economists are agreed that conditions now are not comparable with those of 1914, when war news produced a panic and forced exchanges to close. While the outbreak of a general war probably would produce a temporary break in prices, this break would be negligible compared with the 1914 débâcle, and recovery would be quicker if not so exaggerated. War orders from France and Great Britian inevitably would boom domestic industry, particularly if, as is now indicated, the Neutrality Act is repealed or modified.

Whatever the immediate gyrations of the business indices, the long curve between now and election time in 1940 will almost certainly be up. President Roosevelt and the Administration will do all they can to push it in that direction. Therein lies what hope they have for the reelection of Roosevelt or election of the successor he designates. However much business men may want to get rid of President Roosevelt and all his work, they won't pass up a chance to make an honest dollar.

Business will never be appeased so long as Roosevelt is in the White House. But fortunately there is practically no connection between business prosperity and the abstraction known as business confidence. Business has confidence when it sees a chance to make money, lacks confidence when it doesn't. Everything points to a season of unappeased confidence.

Are the Balkans Doomed?

BY ALBERT VITON

THE partition and conquest of Czechoslovakia prove that the spirit of Munich is marching still. For one hundred glorious days—from the beginning of December till the new crisis—Balkan states breathed freely. One after another they began to straighten their backs. There were whispers of British and French support; that the great democracies would take a stand on the Danube; that, above all, the heroic words of Mr. Roosevelt had not been in vain. King Carol of Rumania took a determined stand and crushed German agents boring from within; Yugoslavia and Hungary were not slow to follow his lead. Even Colonel Beck of Poland, first to build a diplomatic bridge to Berlin back in 1934, was compelled to recast his policies. A conference was held at which the slogan "The Balkans for the Balkan Peoples" was heard. Now this trend, unless London and Paris take stronger action to stop Germany than is yet in prospect, is in danger of being reversed.

I was in the Balkans when the tide began turning against the Nazis. The little states around the Great Reich did not embark lightly on the new policy. On the contrary, there was careful analysis; and they certainly did not underestimate the extent of German opposition. In Bucharest, after touring the Balkans, I found that since Munich there had been a furious increase in Nazi activities. German agents frankly admitted that this year was likely to prove decisive in their struggle for hegemony over Europe; they realized the full importance of the Balkans for both peace and war. The grain fields of Rumania and Hungary, the oil of the former and the meat and fats of the latter, the raw materials of Yugoslavia and the tobacco of Greece are vital to the Reich. But developments convinced the Nazis that an economic monopoly was impossible without political control, and they left nothing to chance.

Everywhere organizations of Germanic inhabitants, *Rassengenossen*, were overhauled and tightened. Neither money nor trouble was spared. The Germans in Czechoslovakia, the Swabians in Hungary, and the Saxons in Rumania were placed under Berlin's direct control. All *Rassengenossen* were officially directed to keep in constant touch with German consular representatives. Although all political parties had been outlawed in Rumania, the government not only had to close its eyes to the very

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active Saxon organizations, but even had to permit their unification under leaders designated by Berlin. Spreading anti-Semitism was only a minor part of the duties of the organized Germans. They acted as spies; they fomented trouble; they everywhere formed nuclei of anti-government parties.

That those parties were heavily subsidized has been proved times without number. No denial followed the revelation of a Budapest democratic daily that one of the presses turning out local Nazi propaganda had once belonged to the Social Democratic *Vorwärts* of Berlin. Many millions of marks as well as highly interesting documents were found when the Hungarian police, acting on a tip, searched an automobile coming from Germany. Leaders of the Rumanian Iron Guard, the Hungarian Arrow Cross, and the various fascist organizations in Czechoslovakia made repeated pilgrimages to Berlin and Munich. Codreanu, leader of the Iron Guard, was confronted at his trial with a draft of a memorandum he had sent to Berlin through the German minister appealing for financial assistance on the ground that "solidarity of interests . . . binds us in an indestructible" manner.

That Berlin would attempt to strike was common knowledge; the question was whose turn would be first. The Hungarian police discovered a complete plan worked out between the Arrow Cross and the German minister. Ammunition had already come from across the border and competent S. S. leader had arrived to direct the putsch. Toward the end of last November the Iron Guard, on instructions from the Reich, launched a widespread campaign of terror to disorganize the government and demoralize the population. Guardists shot and seriously wounded the rector of the University of Cluj; a policeman was killed; the royal residents at Czernowitz and Cluj received letters informing them that they would be "executed between December 1 and 15." Private residences were set on fire, and bombs were thrown in theaters and public buildings and at officials.

The ruthlessness of the Reich and its absolute disregard of the *amour propre* of other peoples when it was bent on obtaining concessions antagonized public opinion everywhere. A wave of resentment spread through Rumania when an official of the German legation who had been hurriedly recalled upon the disclosure of his relations with the illegal Iron Guard made a triumphant reentry into Bucharest. At the demand of the Reich he was permitted to return to give some farewell parties, which were extraordinarily large. The inhuman treatment of Polish Jews, expelled from their homes without a moment's notice, was profoundly resented in Poland, notwithstanding that country's scant consideration for its own Jewish citizens. As for the Czechs, they found the arrogant bearing of German visitors almost as difficult to bear as the memory of their great national humiliation. "I will close my hotel rather than continue dealing with those Nazi *Schweine,*" a fat citizen of Prague said to me in Budapest.

Nowhere, however, did public opinion take such a sharp anti-Reich turn as in Hungary. The Carpatho-Ukrainian affair convinced everyone that in its ruthless drive for hegemony the Reich made no distinction between friend and foe. I need not go into the merits of the Hungarian and Czech claims for that area. Certainly it was not ethical considerations that prompted Hitler to veto Hungarian ambitions. At the Vienna conference Ribbentrop forced Ciano to agree to an absurd frontier because Germany had plans of its own for the area. When news of Germany's role in the negotiations leaked out, even avowedly pro-Nazi groups and newspapers in Hungary were swept along by the wave of bitterness. So strong was the demand for defiance of the Reich that Erdmannsdorf, the German minister, had to make strong démarches to the Foreign Office; the government organ *Uj Magyarsag* frankly declared that "Hungary's internal affairs are by no means as much a sovereign internal right as many seem to think." The Imredy Cabinet fell.

What added substance to the general resentment was the way the Reich was using its preponderant economic power. Almost 50 per cent of the total foreign trade of the various Balkan countries is in the hands of Germany. The Reich's share in Bulgaria's export trade grew from 25 per cent in 1930 to 48 per cent during the first eight months of 1938, when it supplied 49 per cent of that country's imports. Hungary sold 11 per cent of its total exports to the Reich in 1933; last year it is estimated that the proportion was about 40 per cent. Preliminary figures for 1938 indicate that the Greater Reich will control about half of Rumania's foreign trade. Yet even these figures do not reveal the full importance of the German trade. Of more significance is the fact that Germany now takes 65 to 70 per cent of all Balkan agricultural exports. More than 70 per cent of Hungary's flour, about 70 per cent of its bacon, about 80 per cent of its fresh fruits, more than 85 per cent of its eggs, went in 1937 to Austria and Germany.

Having achieved this preponderant economic position, the Reich began before long to use its power to impose terms advantageous to itself. Not a Balkan state but has been made to pay for the Reich's valuta difficulties; Berlin began to interfere with their currency policies. Although it paid higher prices than those prevailing on world markets, the prices of its industrial goods also went up. The bait of long-term credits was gradually withdrawn, and the number of articles available for export was drastically curtailed. Some countries discovered that, having piled up huge credits in Berlin, they had to take whatever was offered. Huge shipments of quinine, thermometers, phonograph records, photographic and optical apparatus—and armaments—flooded Balkan markets. People awoke to the German practice of buying goods which could be resold for strong currency in world markets. Greek tobacco was dumped by the Reich in London, and Greece

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thus prevented from getting valuta, of which it is badly in need, while world prices were undermined. Greece has suffered also from other German tricks. After resorting to all sorts of economies to save enough currency to import about a third of its wheat needs, it discovered that a portion of the home crop had been bought up, of course for blocked marks, and shipped to the Reich. Above all, Balkan industrialists came to realize that Germany was increasingly using its power to undermine local industries. "The Nazis are trying to degrade us to the position of colonies," a Rumanian manufacturer said at the conclusion of a long talk about German practices.

Hatred and fear of the German colossus were ready to burst into the open at the first opportunity. King Carol visited London, and though he extracted no definite assurances, he was received cordially by the royal family. There were other straws. Sir Reginald Hoare, Britain's minister to Bucharest and a consistent advocate of a firm policy toward the fascist blackmailers, returned after a prolonged absence more optimistic than he had been for years. Both France and England began to launch propaganda campaigns to counteract those of the Reich. The arrival of a large number of British commercial travelers and industrialists was taken as a good omen; a French commercial *attaché extraordinaire* came to Bucharest. Balkan diplomats in Paris and London began sending in slightly more optimistic reports. The Washington broadsides and the cordial response of the two European democratic capitals had far-reaching effects.

King Carol, menaced most by the Nazi aggression, decided to rebel. The special which brought him back from his London-Paris-Berchtesgaden trip was boarded at a wayside station by M. Calinescu, then Minister of the Interior, who hates the Iron Guard and wants to keep out the Germans, and plans for an offensive were laid. Hardly had the train arrived in Bucharest when nine Guard leaders, including Codreanu, were shot "while trying to escape." Threats of Guardist counter-terror disappeared into thin air when Calinescu revealed he was prepared for any emergency; German hopes for a civil war evaporated when at least 85 per cent of the population solidly aligned itself behind Carol in his struggle for Rumania's independence. The German press was furious; Göring's newspaper insinuated that relations between the two countries had deteriorated; probably energetic measures were taken to stimulate the Guard into action. But far from beating a retreat, Carol steadily became more defiant. Effective steps to improve relations with neighboring countries were taken; a new German trade mission in February had to listen to stiff words. Significantly, Calinescu was elevated to the premiership. When Radu Djuvara was transferred from Berlin to Athens, the Rumanian Foreign Office indicated that no new minister would be appointed "for some weeks" since relations with the Reich were not as cordial as they should be.

The spirit of revolt spread like wildfire to other Balkan states. One of the most surprising developments was the resignation of Stoyadinovich, the Yugoslav Premier, whose policy was considered pro-German and pro-axis. Shortly afterward Yugoslavia signed a new commercial agreement with France. The Minister of Economics announced that France had shown "that it does not intend to abandon any of its financial and economic interests in this part of Europe." A series of diplomatic visits between the Balkan countries followed, and the Yugoslav legation at Bucharest was raised to an embassy. Pressure forced Metaxas of Greece to begin negotiations for a new trade agreement with the United States. Hungary made strong efforts to gain a foothold in British markets.

Poland, frightened by Nazi intrigues in Ruthenia and in Polish Ukrainia, also put up a bold front. Colonel Beck's approach to Moscow hit Berlin squarely in the face. The German press did not even disguise its hostility. And for the first time in years Hitler heard plain threats of resistance when Beck visited Berchtesgaden. Beck demanded that an end be put to intrigue in the southeast, informing Hitler that Poland was not Czechoslovakia and would fight. Talk of resistance could be heard everywhere in Warsaw during December; even Nqra members, bitter anti-Semites, applauded when the government rounded up Germans in retaliation for Berlin's measures against Polish Jews. As so often before, Budapest again provided a barometer of the changed political atmosphere. Premier Imredy's resignation upon the discovery of Jewish blood in his veins did not bring either Homan or Daranyi, Berlin's proteges, to power. On the contrary, German protests notwithstanding, Count Paul Teleki, whom Vinci and Erdmannsdorf, the Italian and German ministers, had vetoed ten weeks earlier, was selected.

Such is the background of the last Nazi offensive in the Balkans. Whether the occupation of Czechoslovakia will spell the doom of the new spirit of resistance, as Berlin undoubtedly hopes, is too early to say. There can be no doubt that Germany's position has been considerably strengthened. Unlike Austria and the Sudetenland, Bohemia and Moravia and Slovakia will prove no mean economic assets. The strategic position of Poland, which now has a border 1,600 miles long with the Reich, and of Rumania and Hungary has been considerably weakened. The Reich's economic grip will tighten. On the other hand, it should not be overlooked that the brutal aggression, by bringing the menace closer to all these countries, may prompt them to strengthen their defenses through some sort of general agreement. Indeed, various capitals have issued calls for such an entente during the past few weeks. The fact that almost complete subservience did not save Prague will not go unnoticed. But all depends on Britain and France. Balkan statesmen are painfully alive to the fact that their own efforts, even if united, can be no match for the Reich.

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"In Spite of the Gestapo"

BY KLAUS AND ERIKA MANN

IT IS important that the world should know the truth about Germany, but it is still more important that Germany should know what is going on in the world. It is the duty of the exiles to flash light into the darkness of Germany. The Germans under the scourge of the Nazis must be shown Hitler's machinations; they must be told what the world thinks of them; they must above all be taught what free Germans are thinking, doing, and planning; they must realize that preparations are being made for a new Germany.

The paths which lead from the German exiles into Germany are many, intricate, and thorny; death lurks at every corner. We love and admire the unarmed and defenseless heroes now moving on those paths. We have spoken with many of them, known many a one who fell in the battle. Here is the story of one fighter for German freedom who was lately beheaded in our country.

He was about twenty when Hitler came to power. As a boy he had been a member of a republican organization; as a young man he had joined a Social Democratic group known as the Black, Red, and Gold Banner. It was dissolved and many of its leaders thrown into concentration camps. The young man of whom we are speaking was young and obscure, but he was resolved that his submission to the horror should be no more than a pretense. We have heard him tell of the illegal work he undertook against Hitler.

"The chief thing," he said, "is to spread the truth. The rest will come of itself. If only our people knew the whole truth, it would soon be all over with Hitler. Thus our work is not revolutionary in the ordinary sense; it is a work of enlightenment."

"But how is the truth to be spread since death is the penalty for spreading it?"

"I am a skilled worker," the young man said, "and had a good name in the factory I worked in. A lot of my mates there—60 or 70 per cent, I should say—are against Hitler. Of course we don't dare to speak openly with each other. Even when there are only three or four of us together, one is often a spy. I begin to tell them about a radio talk I heard yesterday—a German one, of course—and I pretend to admire it. Then, I say, something went wrong—all of a sudden some foreign station cut Germany out. I couldn't help it, and of course I didn't believe what they said. My mates ask me what it was about. 'Oh!' I reply contemptuously, 'foreign lies—atrocity mongering.' And then I quote the speeches of the English opposition in the House of Commons, a question about the German 'volunteers' in Franco's Spain, or a few sentences from an appeal by Roosevelt. It is staggering, I say, how people can lie. Yes, say my mates, it is staggering. And all the time their eyes are glowing with hatred of the real liars."

We asked the young workman if it was possible to hold meetings of any size in Germany where the enemies of the regime would have the opportunity of open discussion. He shook his head. "Of course not," he said, "but we find ways. We are great funeral-goers. If someone dies who we know was one of us, the announcement of his funeral is for us a summons to a political meeting. Without further notice we turn up at the cemetery in hundreds; walking behind the hearse, we tell each other all there is to be told, and exchange news and inquiries."

"Where does the news come from?" we asked.

"From various sources," the young man replied, "from the German Liberty wireless station, which the bravest of us listen to in the evening, and from leaflets which are sent to us from abroad or are brought in by friends. Have a smoke," he said suddenly, offering us a box of cigarettes he opened specially for us. "German cigarettes," he said, "Remtsma No. 3." We lit up. The young man watched us. "Haven't you noticed anything?" he asked after a time. No, we hadn't noticed anything. "Look at the smoke," he said. "When it gives off fumes like that we know what's up. Give it to me." He took our cigarettes out of our mouths, put them out, and unrolled them. A whole sheet of very thin paper appeared, covered with close but legible print. "There you are," he said, and we read it.

We were touched to see the facsimile signature of one of us, Heinrich Mann. The paper was the printed copy of a speech he had broadcast from Barcelona. "On Hitler's birthday," the young man told us, "cigarettes were distributed in the factories—Remstma No. 3. We replaced thousands of boxes—you'll admit that nobody can see anything from the outside. But as soon as they light a cigarette, our men notice—too much smoke, too much paper. Then they read." There was satisfaction in his voice.

"And if you get caught?"

"Well," he said, with an expressive movement of his hand round his neck, "then it's all over."

When we met this young man over a year ago—he came to see us at our New York hotel—he had already gone dangerously far. He had been abroad several times and had gone back with pamphlets in the double floor

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of his trunk—cheap paper-covered editions of the classics and travel advertisements for the Third Reich which looked just as innocent as the cigarettes and contained just as much inflammable material in the form of truth.

"I get a lot of hints from our friends out here," he said to us then. "They provide me with information and the names of go-betweens. I settle dates with them. For such and such a thing which has to be done in Germany I get, let's say, five days. Five days later I have to turn up and report—I must. How I do it is my business. If I don't get there it's a sign that something has gone wrong, that I've been observed or caught. Now and then one of us falls into the hands of the Gestapo, which may merely keep him locked up for a few days. But those days can break his back—his spirit. The torture, you know, and the threats that his parents or his girl will be put to death. However, when his spirit is broken, he is set free, but he's a changed man, even though nobody can see it. He goes about, free, but he is watched and spied on by the agents of the Gestapo. Every step he takes is reported, everyone he speaks to, all the people he knows at home are reported, the hiding-places of our printing presses are reported, and so is the whole network we have spun with so much toil and at the risk of our lives. That is why we have to be on time. If one of us can't give an account of himself for every day and every hour he spent in Germany, he is at once under suspicion. He has been in the claws of the Gestapo, and has been broken and changed."

We looked at the young man as he spoke. He looked perfectly ordinary—brown hair, medium height, distinguishing marks none. He spoke without emotion, dryly and to the point. We felt ashamed that our names and not his should be mentioned here and there in the world when people speak of the fight against Hitler; it was he who deserved it.

"Everyone fights in his own way," he said. "And the exiles, you know, are our lines of support; they provide us with important points to fall back on. Besides, they can—they *could*—proclaim our will to the world. They are free! The political exiles are really important."

The emphasis lay on the word "political," and it was clear that among the élite which is, or should be, represented by the exiles there is again a small, carefully chosen élite which plays a part in the fight against Germany.

Our friend, a metal-worker, twenty-five years of age, was beheaded in the little town in the German midlands which was his home. But he hadn't let his back be broken: he had refused to become a decoy for the Gestapo; he did not betray the names of his friends. He was killed. His young wife put on mourning; for two days as she went about the streets the townsfolk bravely went up to her and pressed her hand. They said nothing; they merely pressed her hand and looked at her face, which was frozen with grief. Two days later she appeared in the streets in her colored clothes. One reckless spirit asked her why. "The Gestapo," said the woman. "They forbade my wearing mourning—it was a public nuisance."

What is going on in Germany is a war; the weapons of the troops of liberty are whispered words, their bombs are thin sheets of closely printed paper—but they are staking their lives.

> We are not seen, we are not known,
> We have no badge to wear,
> Our foes' revenge is powerless
> To reach us anywhere.
> We're no more to be grasped than air
> Or water swiftly flowing,
> Our foes have never caught us yet,
> They only feel we're growing.

That is a verse of a song which is often sung in Germany. It is called "The Illegal Whisper," and it is imbued with great revolutionary fire.

The German Liberty radio station, which has for years past made an onslaught on the Nazis every evening, always closes down with the promise, "Goodby till tomorrow evening, same time, wave length so and so, and *in spite of the Gestapo.*" In spite of the Gestapo, these men, with the little transmitter that has to be perpetually shifted to some new vehicle, dare to travel through Germany. The voice issues from motor boats, racing cars, delivery vans, from dark high roads or the open heath. "Hello, hello, German Liberty Station calling." The station is wonderfully well informed about everything going on in Germany. Very often it knows about the schemes of the Nazi leaders sooner than anyone else. There must be among its reporters men in the closest touch with the Führer. Many of its communications, however, come from abroad. And here again the exiles, that is to say, the militant élite among the exiles, can be seen at work. They provide the Liberty Station with truth from all over the world. The speech given at Geneva by Del Vayo, the Spanish Foreign Minister, an appeal to the German people by Thomas Mann—such are the things which the Liberty Station broadcasts to the heads and hearts of the German people. "Hello," we can hear it say, "the Gestapo is cutting us out. We're going a bit to the right." The voice dies out. We turn the knob a little to the right—there it is again. Now it is quoting Goethe, Schiller, Herder, reminding the German people of the best it has, calling the great minds of the past to witness that what it says is the truth and what it demands is just and right. And all over the country people are sitting breathless over the wireless sets, with doors and windows closed, listening spellbound to the voice, the fearless voice they have to tune down until its words have faded into an inspiriting whisper, for in Germany it is high treason to listen to it.

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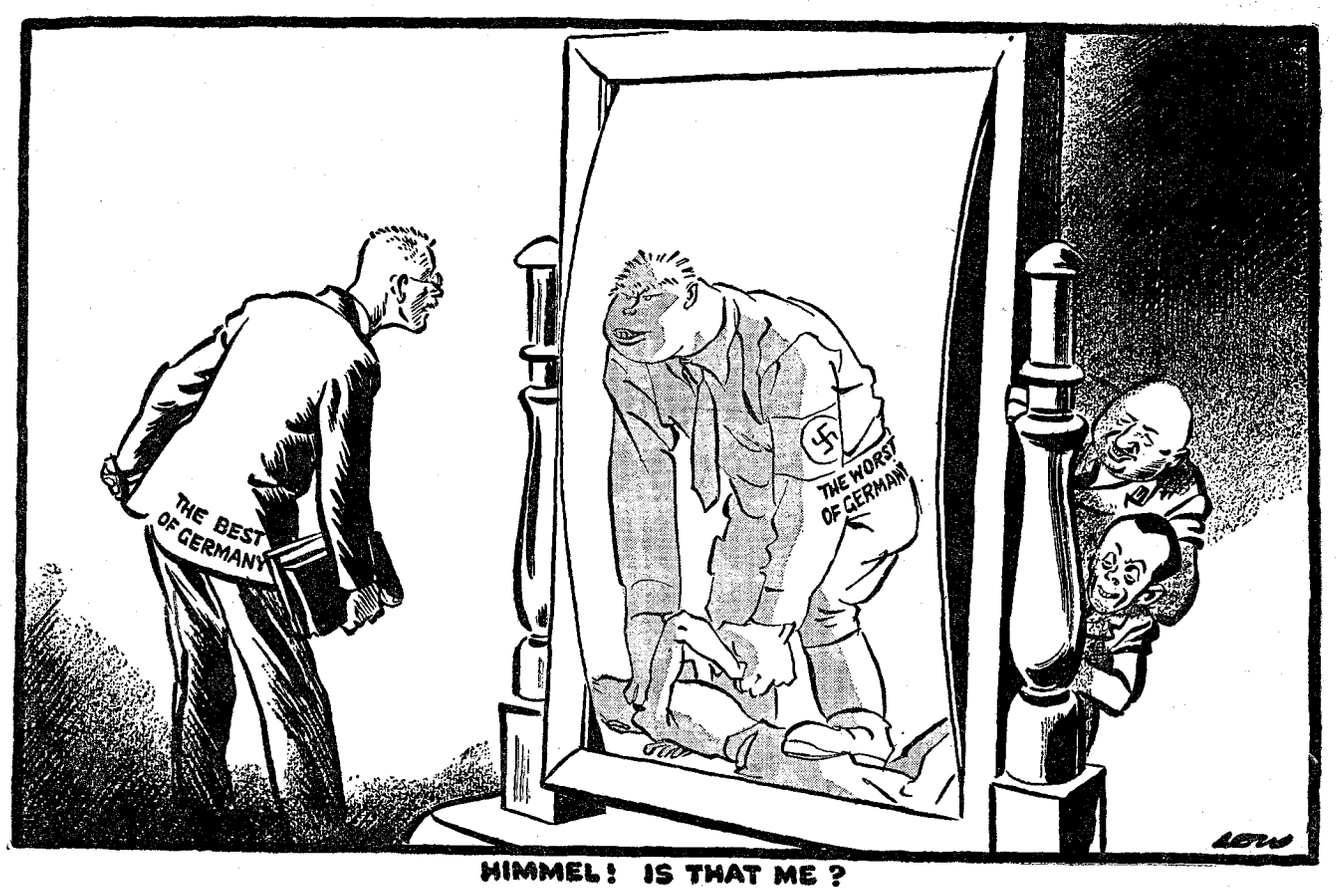
At night, when a few gaily colored balloons glide over the big cities along the frontiers of the Reich, such as Düsseldorf or Saarbrücken, when they burst in the air, dropping their contents—thousands of sheets of thin, closely printed paper—into the streets, when people rush after the leaflets to pick them up and read them, this also is high treason. The truth comes from abroad; the militant élite among the exiles use this way of sending it into the country; the people at home then know that their friends who are at liberty are at work. The knowledge gives them renewed courage, and we may be sure that they will do their share.

When German steamers put in at Copenhagen or Madeira with a boatload of "Strength through Joy" trippers on a fortnight's strictly supervised holiday, rowboats go far out to sea to meet them, flying odd little pennants with messages such as "Rescue Niemöller," "Stop the armaments," "We want a democratic Germany in a peaceful Europe." Generally these trippers are not allowed to get off the steamer. If they are given permission to do so, they are watched like convicts. They might gain too much strength and joy by free contact with the free citizens of a free country. But the militant élite among the exiles are at work, find their way to the prisoners, contrive to get their literature on board, and many who left home blind and ignorant, dull and hopeless, take courage and truth home with them.

Hitler says in "Mein Kampf": "The British and American war propaganda was psychologically correct. By displaying the German to their own people as a barbarian and a Hun, they were preparing the individual soldier for the horrors of war and so helped to spare him disappointments. . . . It heightened his rage and hatred against the villainous enemy." And he acts accordingly. The German political exiles are his enemies—perhaps the most dangerous enemies he has. Not on account of the weapons they use—they have none—but because they know him.

True to his stated program, the Führer magnifies their dangerousness, which in his heart of hearts he probably underestimates, and their influence to superhuman dimensions; they become a worldwide, insidious, and bloodthirsty band of conspirators. Every other issue of the *Völkischer Beobachter* has headlines such as "Jewish Bolshevist Agitation Poisons Public Opinion in England," "Treacherous Machinations of Emigrants in Paris," "New York under the Scourge of the Emigrants." We admit that we are glad to see such headlines, not because they flatter our self-esteem, but because we believe that they must give new strength to all those in Germany whose eyes are fixed upon us. Our German friends count on us; it is a good thing if our enemies reckon with us. There is no doubt that the political exiles will be a factor —a small, but very decided factor—in the settlement of accounts now due.

[*The foregoing article is a section from "Escape to Life," to be published by the Houghton Mifflin Company on April 11.*]



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The Greatest Strike-Breaker of All

BY I. F. STONE

I

IN A sense it might be said that on February 28 the United States Supreme Court upheld Karl Marx. Not that Chief Justice Hughes and his four colleagues of the majority in the Fansteel, Columbian, and Sands cases now subscribe to the views expressed in "Das Kapital" or the "Manifesto." But their rulings and their reasoning in these three Wagner Act decisions provide the strongest kind of support, not merely for the subtler elaborations of Marxist theory, but for one of its cruder soapbox expositions—capitalist court bites working class. The event, as those whose memory extends beyond the court's recent excursion into liberalism will recognize, is not news; the Fansteel sitdowners take their place in a melancholy procession that reaches back through the Danbury hatters to the first attempts of the American judiciary to settle labor disputes—by sending strikers to jail for conspiracy. The court, which follows liberal election returns only at a great distance and most unwillingly, is off at a gallop at the first whiff of reaction in the hope that the 1940 election returns will follow the court.

The creative ingenuity that enabled the Supreme Court to find the sugar trust pure as driven granulated the same day it sent Debs to jail for violating the Sherman Anti-Trust Act is now being applied to the task of using the Wagner Act to interfere with the collective bargaining it was to foster. How far the process may go no one knows, but it is as well to be prepared for the worst. Those who have been taught to look judicial gift horses in the mouth suffered a premonitory shiver on April 12, 1937, amid the jubilation over the Jones and Laughlin decisions validating the National Labor Relations Act. "The act," Chief Justice Hughes said in a passage too little noticed at the time," has been criticized as one-sided in its application; that it subjects the employer to supervision and restraint and leaves untouched the abuses for which employees may be responsible. That it fails to provide a more comprehensive plan—with better assurances of fairness to both sides and with increased chances of success in bringing about, *if not compelling* [my italics], equitable solutions of industrial disputes affecting interstate commerce. But we are dealing with the power of Congress, not with a particular policy or with the extent to which policy should go. We have frequently said that the legislative authority, exerted within its proper field, need not embrace all the evils within its reach. The Constitution does not forbid 'cautious advance, step by step' . . ." To compulsory arbitration?

It is safe to assume that, if the time comes, the Supreme Court will not lack the dialectic skill to reconcile a law forbidding strikes with a Constitution whose Thirteenth Amendment forbids involuntary servitude. A court that is prepared to rewrite the Wagner Act as high-handedly as our new conservative majority of five has done in the Fansteel, Columbian, and Sands cases may do anything. It is instructive to compare the act as written by Congress with the act as rewritten by these three decisions. The act says, "The findings of the board as to the facts, if supported by evidence, shall be conclusive." The court says it may review the evidence for itself and approve or reject the board's findings as it pleases. The act guarantees certain rights to employees and defines the term "employee" as including "any individual whose work has ceased as a consequence of, or in connection with, any current labor dispute or because of any unfair labor practice." The court says the employee loses these rights if his employer discharges him for breach of contract or "tortious conduct" (which may be anything from participation in a sitdown to a fight on a picket line or carrying an abusive strike banner) or, indeed—in the opinion of the dissenting minority, Reed and Black—for any other reason, or for no reason, provided "the discharge is not used to interfere with self-organization or collective bargaining." The loopholes are broad enough for John W. Davis and Tom Girdler, walking abreast. Finally, the act expressly states that "nothing in this act shall be construed so as to interfere with or impede or diminish in any way the right to strike." Chief Justice Hughes in the Fansteel decision did not overlook the clause. In fact, he quotes it. But he goes on to say that "this recognition of 'the right to strike' plainly contemplates a lawful strike—the exercise of the unquestioned right to quit work. . . . Here the strike was illegal in its inception and prosecution." Nor is the category of illegal strikes limited to sitdown strikes. Examination of the decisions shows that any strike in breach of contract, no matter how technical, may be illegal and that a strike in which violence or property damage occurs may also be held illegal by this court.

Justice Stone, whose liberalism seems to be on the wane, protested in his AAA dissent that "courts are not the only agency of government that must be assumed to have capacity to govern." But the three decisions in which he has joined are based on that assumption. Certainly Congress never intended the act to be interpreted in this way. The provision as to findings of fact was based on similar pro-

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visions—similarly ignored by the courts—in older statutes setting up other administrative bodies. As Justice Black protested in the Columbian dissent, "The Labor Board, the Federal Trade Commission, the Interstate Commerce Commission, the Securities and Exchange Commission, and many other administrative agencies were all created to deal with problems of regulation of ever-increasing complexity in the economic fields of trade, finance, and industrial conflicts. Congress thus sought to utilize procedures more expeditious and administered by more specialized and experienced experts than courts had been able to afford. The decision here tends to nullify this effort." The court, in fact, as Justice Brandeis pointed out in a famous concurring opinion in the St. Joseph's Stockyards case, arrogates to itself more power to set aside the findings of an expert administrative tribunal than the findings made by a jury in an ordinary trial.

Nor did Congress ever intend, nor has the court held in the past, that strikers guilty of misconduct lose their rights under the act. In the Carlisle Lumber case the Ninth Circuit Court of Appeals refused to deny enforcement of an NLRB order against the company on the ground that picketing had resulted in violence and had been in violation of state laws. In the Remington Rand case the Second Circuit Court of Appeals held that an employer may not refuse to bargain with a union on the excuse that the union has been guilty of misconduct. The Supreme Court showed its approval of both decisions by refusing to review them. Both rulings were in accord with the intention of Congress.

II

The time may come, if the present trend on the court continues, when labor will seek the repeal of the Wagner Act, for it will have become the Wagner Anti-Labor Act. The courts will have given the answer to all who, like the President, believe that our economic and social problems may be peacefully and democratically solved within the framework of capitalist democracy. For reform legislation is futile if the courts insist on nullifying it, either by holding the legislation unconstitutional or by the less palpable process of "interpretation." If the Wagner Act is to be amended, and I see no reason why it should be if it is to accomplish its purpose, the amendments ought at least to be made by Congress. If the Supreme Court makes the amendments, it sets itself up again in opposition to democratic processes; it usurps legislative power. And it provides chapter and verse for those who contend that the state is the instrument of a ruling class and that government instrumentalities—whatever the good intentions of those who set them up—must ultimately become new means of exploiting and oppressing the less privileged orders of our society, whether workers, farmers, consumers, small investors, or little business men.

It is not workers alone but all these classes who ought to be alarmed by the Fansteel, Columbian, and Sands decisions. For the temper revealed in them bodes ill for all our administrative and regulatory agencies, and for other forms of protection Congress has established to make more equal the bargaining power of the farmer when he goes to sell his wheat or cattle, of the consumer when he buys a pretty label, of the small investor when he goes into the stock market, or of the little business man trying to compete with chain store or trust. The court in these cases is back at its old game of deciding questions brought before it on the basis of principles unimpeachable in themselves but bearing little relation to the facts. The examples are classic. No one believes a rate-making agency ought to have the power to confiscate the property of a utility, but it is a far step from this general principle to the conclusion that a return of less than 7 per cent on so intangible an item as "going value" is thereby "confiscatory." "Liberty of contract" is certainly one of the basic rights in a free country, but it is a far step from this general principle to the conclusion that a minimum wage drawn up to protect a washwoman deprives her of this "liberty." The avoidance of the realistic makes the rationalization of a hidden bias easier.

Judge Florence Allen for the Circuit Court and Justice Roberts for the Supreme Court could hardly have examined the facts when they held the union in the Sands Manufacturing case deprived of its rights under the Wagner Act because it was guilty of breach of contract. The plant of the Sands Manufacturing Company was shut down, not by a strike, but by the employer after he had presented the union with an ultimatum—that unless it accepted the employer's interpretation of a disputed clause on seniority he would close the factory. Wasn't that a lockout rather than a strike? And in the absence of any decision on the correct interpretation of the contract, could one be sure that the employer was right; could one be sure that it was not the employer rather than the union that had breached the contract? In the Fansteel case Chief Justice Hughes upheld the board's findings as to the employer's illegal conduct—coercion of the men, attempts to introduce a company union, employment of a labor spy (who repeatedly urged a strike), and finally a refusal to bargain collectively with a union representing a majority of its employees. "Reprehensible as was that conduct of the employer," Chief Justice Hughes said, "there is no ground for saying that it made respondent an outlaw or deprived it of its legal rights to the possession and protection of its property." But doesn't the same principle apply in reverse? Assuming that the conduct of the sitdowners was reprehensible, did that deprive them of their right to protection in collective bargaining? The Fansteel concern was not deprived of *its* rights, though the Chief Justice would lead one to believe that it was. A state-court order authorized the sheriff to clear the plant; all the workers in it were arrested; and thirty-seven of them and two non-employee

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union organizers were punished by sentences ranging from $100 fine and 10 days in jail to $1,000 fine and 240 days in jail. But the Fansteel Corporation was not punished for violating the Wagner Act, even though its actions had precipitated the strike. On the contrary it was absolved of its obligations under the act and allowed to go free on the ground that their own reprehensible conduct had deprived its workers of their legal rights.

Was the sitdown strike as reprehensible as it may appear? There was no evidence of sabotage. The head of the corporation admitted that the strikers had gone out of their way to take good care of the machinery and the buildings while in occupation. The only damage was done when the sheriff and his deputies attacked with tear and emetic gas, and windows were broken by the bombs and by the men in an effort to let out the fumes. The law protects the employer against seizure of his property. It also, under the Wagner Act, protects the employee against seizure of his job by strike-breakers during a labor dispute. Is it reprehensible if the worker, so long as he does not damage his employer's property, symbolizes his vested right in his job by sitting down at his machine instead of going out on a picket line? If the employing corporation felt that men who took part in a sitdown were unfit to continue as its employees, why did its foremen solicit the strikers after the evacuation to return to work, why did it rehire thirty-nine of the sitdowners? Why, after the plant was reopened, did the state court try only those who refused to go back to work?

Counsel for the Columbian Enamelling Company of Terre Haute has the distinction of having first advanced the contention adopted by Chief Justice Hughes that a strike in breach of contract is illegal and deprives the workers of their rights under the Wagner Act. Columbian Enamelling, by its stubborn refusal to recognize an A. F. of L. union and the use of the National Guard to break picket lines and reopen its plant, caused the famous Terre Haute general strike. "I don't need any longer to go through with this fallacy of collective bargaining," the head of the plant told labor conciliators, "I have the power out there in those bayonets." The Supreme Court upheld the company on the flimsy ground that it did not know that conciliators were speaking for the union when they asked company officials to resume collective-bargaining negotiations. The court also held there had been a breach of contract. The contract did provide for arbitration and did forbid strikes while an arbitration award was pending, but there was none pending when the strike was called because the company had refused to arbitrate the union's request for recognition as representative of the majority. In the eyes of Terre Haute workers, bitter over that lost strike and the use of the National Guard to break it, in the eyes of workers everywhere, must not the Supreme Court now appear as the greatest strike-breaker of them all?

Everybody's Business

WHAT ODDS ON RECOVERY?

NOW that the Administration is staking its all on recovery, it might be wise, before placing our own bets, to study carefully that animal's staying powers and the conditions of the track. Business is trying to sell us the idea that, given the proper amount of appeasement as fee, the race may safely be left in its hands, but if the horse is lame how will business get it off the mark?

Abandoning the metaphor, let us inquire into the present economic situation and the prospects for the immediate future. The advance in business which began last June was checked at the end of the year. For December the Federal Reserve index of industrial production stood at 104 compared with 77 at midsummer. In January it retreated to 101, and the preliminary figure for February is 99. Such a setback, however, coming as it did after six months of very rapid improvement, need not be taken too seriously, especially as other indicators suggest early renewal of the upward trend.

The two most prominent factors in last year's recovery were the automobile industry and residential housing; both remain very much to the fore. Automobile production during the first quarter is expected to show a 60 per cent gain over the same period of 1938. At this season a large part of output is for dealers' stocks in anticipation of spring sales, and prospects for the remainder of the year depend largely on whether these fulfil expectations. Actual retail sales for the first twenty days of February were 33 per cent better than a year ago.

Residential housing is continuing to receive a great stimulus from the FHA mortgage-insurance scheme, and in the first quarter new contracts are expected to be 75 per cent better than in 1938. Recently two leading institutional lenders in New York have announced they would reduce mortgage rates from 5 to 4¼ per cent. This means that the benefits of cheap money are at last seeping down to the small property-owners, who, in the aggregate, form a huge potential market for capital goods. It is worth remembering that Britain's vigorous recovery in 1933 was based on a housing boom made possible by cheap and easily available mortgage money. It is to be hoped, therefore, that the FHA will obtain the additional powers for which it is asking. It is equally important that this promising housing movement should not be checked by higher prices for materials.

Among the capital-goods industries, steel has been stagnating around 55 per cent of capacity. This level compares favorably with a rate of about 30 per cent a year ago but is hardly consistent with a strong industrial revival. There are signs, however, of a growing demand from some leading consuming industries. The railroads, for instance, which as a whole quadrupled their net operating profits in January, are in many cases budgeting for much greater capital expenditures in the current year. Already steel-rail orders from fifteen leading carriers are 153 per cent higher than for the whole of 1938. Other favorable signs include growing activity in the chemical and machine-tool industries which supply the raw materials and equipment for a host of other trades.

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Hopeful factors for further recovery, therefore, are not lacking, although it cannot be denied that the durable-goods industries are still lagging way behind those producing consumption goods. Nor does the recent action of the new-issue market suggest that any spectacular improvement in real capital investment is imminent. In the first two months of the year corporate financing, apart from refunding operations, has been negligible. Some important new issues are on the way, and the next few months may make a better showing; but it is clear that capital expansion by private industry is not yet affording any very impressive support to recovery.

If, then, economic prospects are moderately bright, that is undoubtedly due to government spending, which has not yet reached its peak of effectiveness. During the remaining months of the fiscal year pump-priming expenditures should average $350,000,000 a month—a rate well beyond that which accompanied the fall recovery. Nor should there be any very alarming letdown next year unless the President's budget is heavily pruned, an unlikely eventuality despite the spate of economy talk. The federal contribution to purchasing power is certainly a powerful factor in maintaining the demand for consumers' goods, and it is noteworthy that retail sales are exhibiting considerable resilience.

Yet business spokesmen claim that deficit financing is undermining confidence and insist, publicly at least, that "appeasement" must include stringent economy. Ask Wall Street men, however, what would be the effect of a drastic cut in government spending and they will tell you that it would be a severely deflationary move and that its immediate effect would be to impede entrepreneurs from making new capital commitments.

Indeed, it would be an unusual sight to see manufacturers extending their plants while the bears made hay on the exchanges and consumers reduced their buying. Yet the National Economy League in its plan for cutting the deficit to half a billion in the current year actually assumes an increase in revenue as a result of improved business conditions. This is flying in the face of Wall Street, which has always insisted that the Stock Exchange accurately forecasts the course of business. Moreover, it is axiomatic that new investment capital cannot be easily raised except when stocks are strong and active. Indeed, it is on these grounds that relaxation of SEC regulations is asked as a contribution toward recovery.

Who then will deny that drastic economy at this time would kill what recovery we have and still not produce a balanced budget? For even though expenditure fell, revenue would fall too, and, let us not forget, a $40 billion debt with a $40 billion national income (the 1931 level) is much more burdensome than a $45 billion debt on a $75 billion income —this year's possible figure. Government borrowing, which after all represents a draft on the large *idle* sector of our productive machinery, is now pulling our economy toward the point where private investment may be galvanized into action by rising consumption. Does anyone really advocate slackening the rope and dropping our economy back into the inflationary abyss? For my part I am prepared to place a moderate bet on recovery if government spending stays in the saddle. But if business rides, using the economy curb-rein, my shirt goes on slump.

KEITH HUTCHISON

In the Wind

WHILE RECENT press dispatches have stressed renewed British interest in Russian friendship, most of them have overlooked a significant piece of evidence. Ever since the Bolshevik Revolution the London *Times* has had no Moscow office; now that paper, which has consistently voiced Chamberlain's policy, has asked for visas for *Times* correspondents. The *Daily Mail* and *Daily Express* are taking similar steps.

SOME WEEKS ago the Italian paper *Tevere* proclaimed, "We spit in the face of all citizens of the cowardly French republic. . . . We spit in the face of France." The editorial, which developed that theme at some length, was widely republished. The British-operated Japanese *Chronicle* carried this comment: "Italy expectorates every man to do his duty."

WASHINGTON INSIDERS say there was a stiff tussle in New Deal circles before it was announced that the monopoly committee would continue. These sources report pressure from influential persons in the Administration as well as from Congress to end the much-ballyhooed investigation because business was "frightened." Its continuance was held to indicate that there are definite limits to "appeasement."

FROM A letter to the Baltimore *Sun,* signed by "Another Music Lover":

> Having read in the papers the other day there was to be a musical program by a Russian composer whose name I could not pronounce, I went there with my good wife to hear it. As it was foreign music, it is hardly necessary to say that it fell on deaf ears. It was, I am sure, the work of some Moscow agents who are attempting to pass off this kind of alien music in order to make us sympathize with the Soviets.

D. A. R. JOKE: While members have maintained silence on the Marian Anderson episode, they couldn't keep it out of a skit presented at their Washington conference. In the skit a columnist for the *Congressional Record* is asked: "Dear Auntie Hat: What hat shall I wear to the Marian Anderson concert in Constitution Hall?" "Auntie Hat" replies: "By the time that concert comes off there is no telling what hats will be in fashion." That brought the house down.

METAPHOR: Congressman Joseph B. Shannon, addressing the House of Representatives: "Just a word to the Republicans in closing. Beware lest the Dies torpedo which proved so useful to you in the 1938 campaign turn out to be a boomerang and hoist you by your own petard in 1940."

WHILE ARMY men are gleeful, there's considerable anguish among Washington naval officials over an advertisement for "Wings of the Navy," a Hollywood film glorifying the navy's air power. The poster, widely exhibited to ballyhoo the picture, shows the army's prize bombers flying in formation

[*We invite our readers to submit material for In the Wind —either clippings with source and date or stories that can be clearly authenticated. A prize of $5 will be awarded each month for the best item.*—EDITORS THE NATION.]

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Issues and Men

BY OSWALD GARRISON VILLARD

AGAIN the world faces a great crisis. Again the issue of war and peace actually confronts it. Yet everybody knows that the outcome of war can only be disaster for all Europe and for humanity itself. Let me repeat here once more the words used by the former Prime Minister of Great Britain, Stanley Baldwin. He said in 1934: "Few can be so callous, so ignorant, as not to have noticed how the very foundations of our mid-European and Western European civilization have rocked in these last fifteen years. *They cannot stand a second explosion akin to the one that wrought such damage at that time.*" Today these words are more pertinent than ever, for in the years that have elapsed since Mr. Baldwin spoke them, all countries, including our own, have been burning up their resources in the armament race. If war comes, no person will dare prophesy that civilization will survive, that we shall not have bolshevism in every country—chaos, anarchy. Everyone is aware of this, and yet the statesmen in this crisis have again nothing in their minds but war!

Now I am one of those who have believed for years, as the readers of this page are aware, that there *are* other methods that can be used to bring a country to book. President Roosevelt spoke of these methods without defining them in his speech to Congress demanding an enormous air force. Surely, if there are such, this is the time to apply them in concerted action against Hitler and his threat to mankind. War is suicide; war spells bankruptcy, misery for millions the world over. War now will be a disaster that will make the World War seem an insignificant event. "Well, what would you do, Mr. Villard, under the circumstances?" My answer is that a first step is non-intercourse and a second is the boycott. I have felt that when Hitler invaded the Rhineland the answer of the Allies to him should have been to stop the passage of every train out of Germany on the western side; telegraphs, telephones, and the mails should have ceased; the German nation should have been sent to Coventry. There should have been a definite notification to it that its ships could not enter British harbors or French harbors or Russian harbors. That was not done then, but I see no reason why measures of this kind should not be tried now, and the 25 per cent penalty on all German imports points the way.

Those are measures that Hitler would dread beyond anything else, because he could not conceal from his deluded people what was going on. They would learn that to get out of their country they could only go in certain directions, and they would soon see that they were not getting mail from relatives and friends in the Allied countries. It could not be kept from them that such a move was backed up by a consensus of the moral opinion of the world. Of course this would be a difficult policy to employ. There would be a tremendous outcry in England and France against the losses it would inflict upon those doing trade with the boycotted country. But what is the alternative? It is, I repeat, the destruction of civilization. Any reimbursement of persons suddenly deprived of their livelihood by the boycott would put England and France to infinitely less expense than would a long, difficult, and dangerous war; and it would save millions upon millions of precious lives. I know that some people will say that I am crazier than ever. Perhaps I am. But the burden of proof is certainly upon others—let them explain why we should not try other methods than that of physical force, which we know leads only to economic disaster for victors and vanquished alike. The one road leads to suicide; the other at least offers a possibility of finding some way to discipline berserk nations.

I shall be told for the thousandth time that such methods would bring war, that Hitler would declare war if any such thing were done. I do not believe it. Everybody knows that the relief in Germany when the September crisis passed without war was greater than in any other country; that after Munich it was Chamberlain who was cheered in Germany and not Hitler; that from that moment the personal prestige of Hitler began to decline and the decline was greatly augmented by the pogrom of November 10. One eyewitness after another has told me of these things on his return from Germany. It was a dreadful shock to the German people to find that after all his protestations about his devotion to peace Hitler could take his country right to the brink of war. It will be a tremendous shock to them again when they learn of the magnificent comment of the government of the United States as voiced by Under Secretary of State Sumner Welles, and the fighting speech of Chamberlain at Birmingham—if they are allowed to read it. If in addition there could be a united statement by England, France, the United States, Russia, Belgium, Holland, and all the smaller countries in Europe denouncing Hitler's move as a menace to humanity, the German people's eyes would be opened still further. If then non-intercourse were enforced, I believe the reaction in Germany would be stupendous, and I cannot for a moment believe that war would result.

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BOOKS *and the* ARTS

Notes by the Way

HUMOR has had a long and hilarious career in this country. Considering the ever-increasing supplies of raw material easily available both at home and abroad, and the technological advances it has made in 300 years, one might look forward with confidence to the highest standard of laughing ever known. But humor is being threatened from strange quarters. We have it from E. B. White, in the current issue of *Harper's*, that a gifted crackpot he knows has taken a solemn pledge not to write anything funny or light-hearted or "insignificant" again till things get straightened around in the world. And the Council of the Federation of Actors, which is made up of vaudeville performers, of all people, has passed a resolution forbidding the federation's 10,000 members from making jokes about WPA. One might think the doughty troupers of vaudeville had had enough hard knocks. "The WPA joke," says a solemn Mr. Whitehead, executive secretary of the three-a-dayers (shows, not necessarily meals), "is a very great injustice. In my opinion it is often vicious and cruel, something like a joke at a funeral. It is high time that something was done, etc., etc." He said that WPA workers have been known to walk out of theaters because of such jokes. I sympathize with the WPA workers, but I wonder if Mr. Whitehead has considered the implications of his modest proposal. Jokes about mothers-in-law are unjust to model mothers-in-law. Many jokes about Mrs. Roosevelt are unjust. I'm sure Mr. Whitehead would think it unjust if I made a joke about Mr. Whitehead to the effect that it is high time that something was done about people who are always saying it's high time that something was done. I am not prepared to sacrifice Mark Twain—"Mrs. So-and-so started the fire with kerosene Wednesday morning. The handles on her casket cost $13.50"—for "jokes" like those that won prizes from Herr Goebbels. I can't even get upset about a joke at a funeral. It is the only thing that might conceivably raise the dead. If people generally followed the WPA worker's example and walked out of the theater whenever they thought an unjust joke was being made about them, the seats of almost any revue would be empty at the end of the first act if the revue were any good. One of the early results of Mr. Whitehead's policy, if logically extended, would be a rapid increase of unemployment among vaudeville performers; the final one, God help us, would be a law forbidding a man to laugh at himself.

Book Note: While John Longo was serving a sentence in the Hudson County jail for challenging the right of Frank Hague to win all the elections, copies of books by Oswald Garrison Villard and Norman Thomas were sent to him. The warden told Mr. Longo with apologies that he must withhold these gifts since he considered them unfit reading matter for a prisoner.

"But," said the warden, "I know you are a religious man [Mr. Longo is a devout Catholic]. A gentleman in California named Charles Erskine Scott Wood has sent you a religious book." Whereupon he handed the prisoner a copy of C. E. S. Wood's "Heavenly Discourses," which continues to be one of the most popular items in atheistic literature.

The Oxford University Press recently issued under the title "The German Reich and Americans of German Origin" a collection of the original Nazi regulations and instructions relating to propaganda abroad that should be put on the shelf next to "Mein Kampf." The theme is set by Adolf Hitler: "The German Reich as a state must embrace all Germans, not only for the purpose of uniting and maintaining the most valuable racial elements in this nation, but also for the purpose of raising the German nation gradually and safely to a dominating position." "We are a nation of a hundred million," reads another pronouncement, and the accompanying map of the world shows that of thirty-five million Germans living outside the borders of Germany approximately fifteen million members of this "nation" live in the Western Hemisphere, eight million in the United States. "We must not tire to say to ourselves, to our twenty-five neighboring countries, and to the world that state boundaries of today are not national boundaries and must never become cultural boundaries." Germans traveling abroad are instructed to establish contact with "the National Socialist Group Leader . . . the representative of the movement for German Reconstruction and German Conservation." It is the responsibility of this leader "to make the Foreign Organization the true home of Germans abroad and to teach them to understand fully the present policy and the future plans of the Führer, in spite of distance and in spite of the distorted influence of their environment." The Nazis will still of course be outraged whenever a foreign government accuses its emissaries of carrying on espionage or propaganda. But any German traveler will be called to account if he doesn't.

The book ends with a quotation from the Yearbook of the German-American Volksbund in New York, which gives a glowing account of the increasing unity among German Americans. "In the past year more and more of those uprooted Germans have expressed the desire to see their fatherland again after an absence of decades." The boasts of Nazis need not be taken too seriously, but this little book should be brought to the attention of those who still doubt the reality, or would combat the spread, of the Pox Germanica.

> *Gilroy, Cal., March 11.*—A "moving mountain," a quarter of a mile wide and 125 feet deep, which has advanced a mile and a half since Monday, threatened today to destroy a highway bridge. . . .
>
> . . . The name of the hills is Lomeritas Muertas, Spanish for "dead hills." . . . Riders on the J. G. Murphy ranch said they lost a young bull in a fissure which opened on the rolling hillside cattle range. . . . Range riders found sheer cliff faces where rolling grasslands had been the day before. . . . Huge oak trees were torn from their roots.—The New York *Times*.

Sounds like a poem by Robinson Jeffers.

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The Prague dispatches of G. E. R. Gedye, European correspondent of the New York *Times* and author of "Betrayal in Central Europe," have disappeared from the *Times's* pages. Mr. Gedye within the past year has become the involuntary advance harbinger of Hitler's triumphal marches. I don't know where he will turn up next, but if I were a citizen of any European capital I'd feel very nervous if Mr. Gedye came to town.

What is a gentleman?
HILAIRE BELLOC: A gentleman is a wealthy male.

"If bathrooms were munitions, said John J. Downey of Boston, . . . the United States would be the best-armed nation on the face of the earth."—Newspaper dispatch.

If bathtubs were munitions
And low-priced cars were tanks
If ten-cent stores were fortresses
And children marched in ranks . . .

Write your own from here on.

From Anton Kuh, who escaped from Austria just before Hitler made his triumphal entry:

Q.: What is the difference between Hitler and Napoleon?
A.: Napoleon rode before his troops. Hitler rides behind them.

MARGARET MARSHALL

A Great Democrat

THE SPIRIT OF VOLTAIRE. By Norman L. Torrey. Columbia University Press. $3.

VOLTAIRE. By Alfred Noyes. Sheed and Ward. $3.50.

VOLTAIRE was not only one of the greatest Europeans of all time but, though he might be surprised to hear it, one of the greatest fighters for democracy, and one who should be as much a hero to us as Socrates or Jefferson. As Professor Torrey says: "Voltaire has an important message for the present age. His readers in the period preceding the World War were mildly amused or mildly shocked but not deeply moved. . . . Today our hopes are not so sanguine. . . . It is in such periods of increasing fanaticism that generations will turn again to the spirit of Voltaire." Professor Torrey has certainly done his best to insure that they shall. Voltaire has suffered the greatest misfortune that can befall a writer; he has become a legend, which insures that he will not be read until someone destroys the legend. This Professor Torrey has done with scholarship and perfect taste. If these admirable books of Professor Torrey and Mr. Noyes are as widely read as they ought to be, it will be an encouraging sign. For democracy is not a political system or party but an attitude of mind. There is no such thing as the perfect democratic state, good for all time. What political form is most democratic at any given period depends on geography, economic development, educational level, and the like. But in any particular issue it is always possible to say where a democrat should stand, and to recognize one, whatever party label he may bear.

It is a pity that the most widely known of Voltaire's works should be "Candide," for the facile optimism of Leibnitz, which it attacks, the view that "everything that is, is right," is a side issue. Such a view bears only a superficial resemblance to the profound intuitions of Spinoza or to Rilke's "dennoch preisen," which are the basis for all reverence for life and belief in the future. It is too patently contradicted by daily experience to be held for long, even by the rich.

Democracy has three great enemies: the mystic pessimism of the unhappy, who believe that man has no free will, the mystic optimism of the romantic, who believes that the individual has absolute free will, and the mystic certainty of the perfectionist, who believes that an individual or a group can know the final truth and the absolutely good. For Voltaire these beliefs were embodied, the first in Pascal, the second in Rousseau, and the last in the Catholic church.

Pascal's extreme view about original sin, by denying to fallen man any free will, makes the intellect useless, all human relations a hindrance, and all social forms meaningless. We feel, he says, that we must have absolute certainty; therefore absolute certainty must exist. Only the Catholic religion professes to offer certainty. Therefore we should accept it. Rousseau, starting from the other extreme of asserting the absolute free will of the natural individual, came to similar conclusions. Man is good and corrupted by society; therefore all social forms are bad. If every individual will were allowed to operate freely, there would emerge a general social will. Like Pascal he felt that certainty should exist, and since the intellect could not give it, one should trust to feeling. In the end, since it was impossible for him to become a savage, and no absolute political creed had been invented, he accepted Pascal's wager and died a Catholic.

Voltaire's reply to them both was, in essence, very simple. Examine all the evidence and don't try to go beyond it.

Pascal says that all men are wicked and unhappy. They are, but not all the time. People are often happy and do good acts. Pascal says that the human passions are the cause of all evil. They are, but also they are the cause of all good. They are an integral part of the creation.

> The miseries of life no more prove the fall of man than the misery of a hackney coach-horse proves that, once upon a time, all horses were fat and sleek, and were never beaten, and that since one of them ate forbidden hay all its descendants have been condemned to draw hackney coaches.

Rousseau says that civilization is horrible. Much of it is, but not all. We neither can nor want to become savages or babies again.

> Never has anyone employed so much wit in trying to become as witless; the reading of your book makes us want to creep on all fours. However, since it is now more than sixty years since I lost that habit, I feel unfortunately that it is impossible for me to take it up again, and I leave that natural attitude to those who are more worthy of it than you or I.
>
> Neither can I embark to go and live with the savages of Canada. . . . The ailments with which I am afflicted retain me by the side of the greatest doctor of Europe, and I could not find the same attentions among the Missouri Indians.

Voltaire saw that those who say that they cannot live without absolute certainty end by accepting some person or insti-

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tution that offers it. In his day there was only one such offer, that of the Catholic church.

Mr. Noyes disposes once for all of the popular conception of Voltaire as a shallow cynic who felt and believed in nothing. The man was not lacking in reverence who wrote:

> I was meditating last night, I was absorbed in the contemplation of nature, I admired the immensity, of course, the harmony of those infinite globes. . . . One must be blind not to be dazzled by the spectacle, one must be stupid not to recognize the author of it, one must be mad not to worship him.

When he wrote, "Ecrasez l'infame," he had in mind the assumption, under whatever disguise, religious, philosophical, political, that the final absolute truth has been revealed.

Allow that assumption, and tyranny and cruelty are not only inevitable but just and necessary. For if I know the good, then it is my moral duty to persecute all who disagree with me. That is why the Catholic church can never compromise with liberalism or democracy, and why it must prefer even fascism to socialism. Fascism may persecute Catholicism, but as a competitor; it is based on the same premise of being in possession of the final truth, and if it persecutes, in the end it can only strengthen its persecuted rivals. The first principle of democracy, on the other hand, is that no one knows the final truth about anything, and that the most one can say is: "At this particular moment, and in this particular instance, the nearest approximation we can get to the truth seems to be this. We do not know what absolute goodness is, but this man seems to be better than that man." In such an atmosphere Catholicism withers. There are many liberal Catholics, like Noyes and Maritain, some of them the salt of the earth, but they will always see their hopes defeated. They will deplore the politics of their church without realizing their necessity, for a revealed religion must be centralized and authoritarian, and must oppose any political system which encourages the freedom of the individual conscience.

At the time when Voltaire wrote, social change seemed impossible, and supernatural security was the only refuge for the unhappy; Catholicism, as in any backward country today, had no rival. But as soon as misery is seen to have natural causes which might be removed by political action, absolutist political creeds appear.

Pascal and Rousseau illustrate like parables how people come to prefer certainty to freedom. Both were sick men, and sickness is one cause of unhappiness. Poverty and feelings of social inferiority or insecurity are others. Like Rousseau, liberal capitalism began in the belief that all individuals are equally free to will, and just as Rousseau died a Catholic, so the masses, disillusioned, are beginning to welcome the barrack life of fascism, which at least offers security and certainty. Voltaire was no social revolutionary, but within the economic and social conditions of his time he attempted on his estate at Ferney to create a community of which the members would feel happy enough to allow the spirit of democracy to flower. For one of the symptoms of happiness is a lively curiosity that finds others as interesting and worth knowing as oneself, and it is only by removing the obvious causes of misery, poverty, and social injustice that a democracy like the United States can protect itself against the specious appeals of the enemies of freedom.

W. H. AUDEN

Young Modern

IN DREAMS BEGIN RESPONSIBILITIES. By Delmore Schwartz. New Directions. $2.50.

THE young writer is close to his education, to his enthusiasms for his masters, and to those endless notebooks, diaries, and miscellaneous jottings of the young. And the present time is a propitious one for gathering, into a first book, all sorts of influences, expressed directly and without disguise. Some ages would have been bothered by a downright display of strong literary derivations, sown through early work in a dashing way; not so the present. If Pound has siphoned off poetry from all periods, if Eliot has presented "the fragments shored against my ruins," there's nothing to stop their junior contemporaries from doing the same. In fact, the junior contemporaries, when they are bright and widely read, draw back in distaste from a simple presentation of what they have seen, known, and felt. How banal it is to put down a declarative account of one's experience with a flower, a machine, a wakeful night, a fit of nerves, a memory of childhood or a kiss, when the whole range of modern and ancient literature provides one with tags, symbols, and ways of approach which may with a slight effort be worked into the fabric and adjusted to the emotional tone! The literary and philosophical conventions which operated on Dante at the close of the Middle Ages and on Shakespeare at the end of the Renaissance seem only moderately elaborate compared with the possibilities of modern literary eclecticism. Modern talented youth does not think well of itself if it skips one field of modern reference, which includes anthropology, psychiatry, Whitehead's science, pre- and post-romantic music, and at least one form of up-to-date mysticism—such as Kafka's.

Delmore Schwartz is a very brilliant young man. He has touched all the influences, sometimes at first hand and sometimes through the works of writers he admires. In this book he has published a long short story, a long philosophical poem, a play in verse, and thirty-five lyrics. In the play there are a psychiatrist, and a prophet dismally reminiscent, though at a distant remove, of something out of Jeffers. The philosophical poem presents the author in the company of Marx, Freud, Kant, Beethoven, and Aristotle, in the act of watching and, from time to time, explaining "Coriolanus." (An unnamed fifth companion never unmasks; this person may be a father-image or even T. S. Eliot, an authority on Coriolanus; Schwartz never allows us to know.) A generation or two ago the companions might well have been Wagner, Ibsen, Plato, and Walter Pater, and the play goodness knows what —perhaps Hamlet, that tragedy which deals with incest but is minus the elements of power and the people. In the lyrics one gets many glimpses of old favorites; Schwartz has acknowledged most of these influences fully, in his title and in one subtitle: "Poems of Experiment and Imitation." So there is a good deal of Yeats, especially of the Yeats (late-middle) who liked to introduce ancient and modern guides, counselors, and friends into his work. There are the tiger, Christ, and the Kafka-Auden-Isherwood Dog, a monocle and some ice cream from W. Stevens, playing cards from Eliot, and Anglo-Saxon monosyllables from Molly Bloom. Mention of these things should not be taken as the sneer of

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middle-aged criticism; they are mentioned in order to indicate how difficult it is, under the circumstances peculiar to our post-Eliot literature, to get down to the young writer: to hear, in this instance, something of Delmore Schwartz.

For Schwartz exists, with real gifts of expression, under the eclectic wrappings. When one gets down to the actual writing, in the more complicated show-pieces in the book, the reward is not very great. In "Coriolanus and His Mother" it is annoying to read garbled Shakespeare, for one thing, and the remarks of the illustrious onlookers are more pompous than illuminating:

> O as desire indeed! Marx intervenes,
> See what a fracture such uniqueness means.
> He who would rend himself from his own class
> Shall feel his self ragged as broken glass.

Or Beethoven belies himself and his "Coriolanus Overture":

> Ludwig van Beethoven, Marcius in tone,
> Rumors in woodwinds all there is to come,
> Massing crescendo of the poor king numb.

When Schwartz is speaking without so much strain, however, his actual quality comes through. The title story in the book, "In Dreams Begin Responsibilities," is completely successful. Schwartz has sensitively given the material of childhood memory one of its most moving attributes—its "period" quality. There is no portion of life more poignantly "period" than childhood when seen from the near distance of post-adolescence. Schwartz has evoked this atmosphere without one false accent; everything in the story is truly and freshly seen. And the nightmare atmosphere of a dream is also successfully introduced. In this story and in two poems, "For Rhoda" and "A Young Child and His Pregnant Mother," we hear the young poet himself. And it is the young poet we should and want to hear. *"Dans la forme un peu banale quelques traits du poète futur s'annonce."* The future will not be able to say this of Schwartz's first book. But if he matures, he will discover how much simplicity and directness are needed if a growing writer is to continue to be able to write, to feel, and to see.

LOUISE BOGAN

Rivals for the Mediterranean

MEDITERRANEAN CROSS-CURRENTS. By Margret Boveri. Translated by Louisa Marie Sieveking. Oxford University Press.

THE MEDITERRANEAN IN POLITICS. By Elizabeth Monroe. Oxford University Press. $2.50.

THESE two books deal with a phase of European politics which has so far been neglected. Both Miss Boveri and Miss Monroe see the Mediterranean as a world arena and outline the history, division of power, and forces of the states which are interested in dominating the Mediterranean basin.

Miss Monroe's book is deliberately addressed to the general reader. She has often slighted statistics and technicalities in order to give a general view; she is more concerned with uncovering the motives which determine England's policy toward Italy, let us say, or France's toward Spain. There is a chapter on Germany's drive to the south and another on Turkey's stake in Mediterranean politics and the future of a greater Arab empire. Miss Monroe tells in flowing English what significance domination of the Mediterranean took on for England, France, and Italy after three other major powers —Austria-Hungary, Germany, and Russia—had been eliminated by the World War treaties. But three other states, smaller to be sure, have taken their place—Turkey, Spain, and Egypt. Spain especially may play an outstanding role in this struggle for power. Turkey too, which finally gained the freedom of the Dardanelles after long and toilsome diplomatic maneuvers, must be regarded today as a power to be reckoned with. We follow the moves of the rival powers with Miss Monroe as we might follow a game of chess; and we are led to see the meaning of the Mediterranean for each power through its own eyes.

Miss Boveri's work is much more thorough. It gives not only the history of the Mediterranean from antiquity to the present but also a detailed account of the industrial, military, and dominating interests of the rival states. Miss Boveri has traveled through all the countries which surround the Mediterranean basin, even to the smallest of the Aegean Islands, and in her book the people of Algiers and Syria, Cyprus and the Sudan come to life. She handles political and strategic battles more intensively than does Miss Monroe. She tells the fascinating story of how Italy managed to get control of the Dodecanese Islands; she relates the arduous struggle for the Dardanelles over a score of years.

Both books are objectively written, though Miss Monroe is obviously on the side of the democracies in the great battle which up to now has been confined to the conference table. She believes that when to Germany's strength is added that of Italy, the joint force becomes capable of striking not only at Central Europe but at the British and French empires. To her the most important key to British foreign policy—with which she is most concerned—is the solution of the miserable problem of Palestine. "Until the British government carries out the policy defined, it will continue to engender disrespect and distrust throughout the Middle East." The second key is to be found in Anglo-Italian relations. "On Great Britain's approach to Italy, and on the Italian response to that approach, hangs Europe's best chance of a term of peace."

Margret Boveri sees three different reasons for conflict arising from the situation in the Mediterranean itself. First there is "the divergence between the expansionist desires of some European nations and the wish of others to preserve the status quo." Secondly "there is the divergence between the striving for independence, and in some cases the irredentist struggles, of peoples who are today colonial or semi-colonial, against the reluctance of the ruling races to agree to any change." The third potential source of conflict is "the conflict between the internal political nationalist ideologies." She concludes: "It appears probable that this conflict will take the place of the great religious differences of the Middle Ages, of the struggle between Christianity and Islam. The only active and—according to many people—aggressive factor of power, however, is up to the present Italian Fascism."

Neither the professional nor the superficially interested student of world politics can afford to overlook these two books.

HENRY B. KRANZ

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Children of Rebels

THE STRICKLANDS. By Edwin Lanham. Little, Brown and Company. $2.50.

JAY and Pat Strickland are true children of the rebels who pioneered the Southwest. They are born of stock which hewed its farms out of wilderness, fought every encroachment of the financial East, participated in the abortive "Green Corn Rebellion" against America's entry into the World War. In "The Stricklands," Jay and Pat continue, each in his own way, the traditions of their fathers.

Pat is an outlaw from the Oklahoma "bad lands"—a pure individualist who knows only a selfish way out of the social maze that has meant misery and poverty for his people. His elder brother, Jay, has a different solution; an organizer for the Southern Tenant Farmers' Union, he gropes for freedom through collective action and organization. Out of the conflict of both brothers with the "planters' law" the author has written his novel of Oklahoma.

It is skilfully woven, exciting melodrama, highly flavored with the salt of social realism. Pat has escaped from a Texas jail where he was serving a ninety-nine-year prison sentence for "armed robbery"; he returns to his native hills but is finally hunted down and killed by a sheriff's posse. Mr. Lanham outlines this stark narrative against a background of Indian stomp-dances, Negro barbecues, and union mass-meetings of Oklahoma's disinherited; long after the plot itself is forgotten, the reader will remember "The Stricklands" for its portrayal of a section of America few of us know.

Jay discovers that organizing for the Southern Tenant Farmers' Union is no simple matter. He must grapple with the mutual suspicions and prejudices of Indian and Negro and white man and fuse the three races into one organization to fight the common enemy. He finds that the economic problem is more than that of the tenant who farms cotton; thousands of these tenants have become day laborers who compete with one another for a few cents a day in the spinach fields. But the most difficult obstacle to organization is the terrorism of the law.

"Oklahoma is different from Arkansas," Jay once tells Rocky Jones, the Negro organizer from Memphis. "The red man and the white man and the black man growed up together in this state side by side and we got independent people here. They won't stand fer no rough tactics. You won't find no terror here in Oklahoma. The nigroes here come down from freedmen of the Indians. They hasn't no bigotry or prejudice took root here. Oklahoma has been the melting-pot of the redskins and the black skins and the white skins and that's the reason. I'm telling you Oklahoma won't have no terror."

But Jay is wrong. He first learns it when he is visited by representatives of the Spinach Growers' Association, who come to warn him "to lay off them niggers." It is then that Jay learns that Rocky has been lynched by the respectable, law-abiding citizens of the community. The planters, however, guessed wrong; Rocky's martyrdom is the final spark which brings to life the union organization.

Mr. Lanham knows his Oklahoma and its people; he has woven into the texture of "The Stricklands" the story of

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its folklore and tradition. His is the simplicity of good writing; Pat and Jay and Rocky live on every page of the book. The book is more than the story of two or three men; it is a novel of an entire people striving through union for true emancipation from the slavery into which they were born.

SAMUEL ROMER

Austrian Memoir

MY LIFE AND HISTORY. By Berta Szeps. Alfred A. Knopf. $3.

MEMOIRS, a specifically Austrian genre, were somehow symbols of an empire that, long before its ignominious death, looked chiefly back on bygone glories. Yet Cohen-Portheim in his remarkable "Discovery of Europe" explained Austrian baroque quite convincingly as a concentrated expression of European culture. The essence of this decadent culture was the gentle delight in art and belles-lettres mixed with littleness, incompetence, *Gemütlichkeit*, a kind of cheerfulness, and the medieval rigidity of the Hapsburgs.

In the first part of a book which presents a profile of this culture, Berta Szeps records the correspondence and personal interviews of her father, a pre-war Viennese newspaper lord, with the ill-starred Crown Prince Rudolph. From the hitherto unpublished letters it appears that the Crown Prince, as early as the eighties of the last century, clearly saw the *mene, tekel, upharsin* staring from the walls of old Austria and, disgusted by Prussian arrogance, followed, like Szeps himself, a constant Francophile policy. Though Rudolph was a true liberal —"I regard national and racial hatred as a big step backwards," he wrote in 1882—Frau Szeps's explanation of his death as the result not of a love romance but of an insupportable political antipathy seems to me rather doubtful.

Through her father, her husband, a famous anatomist of the University of Vienna, and particularly through her brother-in-law, a younger brother of Georges Clemenceau, Berta Szeps had many friends in international life and some insight into European politics before and after the war. However, what she has to say of her interviews with Rodin and Carrière, Johann Strauss and Gustav Mahler, whose creations "rang out like a fiery tocsin," is more interesting than her account of how the Marquis de Reverseaux, the French ambassador, thwarted an Austro-Hungarian-French entente in 1906 or of why Clemenceau, after his interview with Edward VII in Marienbad ten years before he dismembered Austria, still believed in the reestablishment of the balance of power. It shows little political judgment that, in 1916, thinking of a separate peace between Austria and France, she could write, "Sofie [her sister] as a Frenchwoman and I as an Austrian could bring it about without, of course, letting our 'allies' [Germany] down."

Her information, too, seems not always trustworthy. Whether "England [in 1917] wanted to see a great, strong, and powerful Austria after the war is over" is a posteriori less interesting than Otto Bauer's letter of 1918, in which the Austrian Socialist leader predicts the Czechoslovak tragedy. Apart from the semi-official mission of the author to France to get the League of Nations' control over Austria lifted, the part she played in post-war history seems somewhat overestimated. But wherever the memoirs record personal interviews with Paul Painlevé or the Countess de Noailles, Count Czernin or Hugo von Hoffmansthal, they have an undeniable literary interest.

What the recollections of Frau Zuckerkandl-Szeps offer could be scarcely called history, but her gift for journalism is a real one and reflects the culture of Austria. Perhaps this journalism was superficial, this culture hackneyed; nevertheless, whoever reads the excellent translation of these memoirs must deplore their loss.

RUSTEM VAMBERY

RECORDS

ONLY part of the March releases are at hand; and these offer little to get excited about. From Columbia, for example, there is the Divertimento K. 563 for string trio (five records, $7.50), which Mozart composed for Michael Puchberg, the merchant and brother-Mason who repeatedly helped him with money in response to those desperate appeals that one can hardly bear to read in the last volume of the Mozart correspondence. Apparently this is a world in which goodness does not receive its due and gratitude is not the effective artistic stimulus it should be; for the Divertimento is long but dull. But its performance by the Pasquier Trio is finely wrought.

The other Columbia item is a two-record set ($3.25) of an excellent performance of the Overture to Tannhäuser by Beecham with the London Philharmonic—to me a deplorable waste of first-rate performing talent.

From Victor, thus far, there is the Suite that Barbirolli has put together from Purcell's dramatic works—much of it superb music, including the famous Lament of Dido, which I do not think should be included. I do not, that is, believe that this piece of music for contralto voice should be played by an English horn; the other pieces Barbirolli has scored and conducted with the New York Philharmonic effectively (two records, $4.50).

And for the rest there are the early vocal music which I find only moderately interesting but which those with a stronger taste for this sort of music will find beautifully sung by the Trapp Family Choir of Salzburg (five ten-inch records, $7.50); the Bach Concerto in A minor for flute, violin, clavier, and strings, no less dull to my ears for the way it is played by Frances Blaisdell, William Kroll, and, most prominently, Yella Pessl, with strings led by Carl Bamberger (three records, $6.50); the tenuous Satie-Debussy Gymnopédies Nos. 1 and 2 played with delicacy, but not without fussy shadings, by Stokowski with the Philadelphia Orchestra (one record, $1.50); and three Spanish piano pieces of slight consequence by Albéniz and Mompou, well played by Copeland (one record, $2).

I have listened to an additional number of Decca re-pressings (50 and 75 cents each) of Lotte Lehmann's old German records of Lieder. They offer her voice at its prime, but with it one must accept tasteless and often disfiguring accompaniments by instrumental ensembles instead of the

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original piano. The best—with the finest songs, the loveliest singing, the least disturbing accompaniments—are Schubert's "Geheimes" and "Der Tod und das Mädchen," "An die Musik" and "Du bist die Ruh'," "Auf dem Wasser zu singen," and Schumann's "Du bist wie eine Blume" and "Widmung." Beautifully sung, too, are Strauss's "Morgen" and "Mit deinen blauen Augen," which I care less about, and his lovely "Ständchen" and "Traum durch die Dämmerung," which have horrible accompaniments. Also Mendelssohn's "Gruss" and Brahms's "Sandmännchen" and "Der Schmied," the last of which needs the hammer-strokes of the piano; Weber's "Wiegenlied," and Mendelssohn's "Auf Flügeln des Gesangs," each with a song badly sung and played on the reverse side—in the one case Schumann's "Ich grolle nicht," in the other Brahms's "Von ewiger Liebe." The record of Schubert's "Ave Maria" and "Ständchen" is fairly good; both singing and accompaniments in Brahms's "Vergebliches Ständchen" and "Die Mainacht" are poor; and the orchestra is bad enough in Wagner's "Träume" and "Schmerzen."

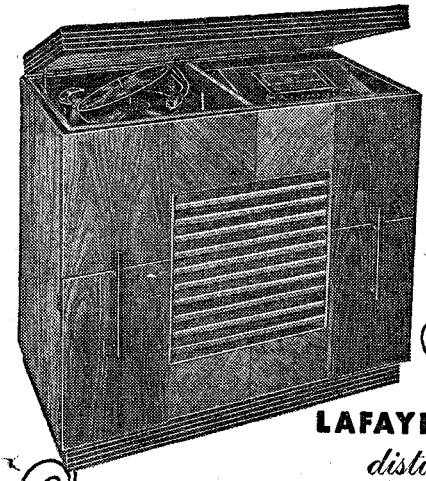
B. H. HAGGIN

FILMS

"INDECENT, inhuman, immoral, sacrilegious, tending to incite to crime and corrupt morals." This is the judgment rendered by the moving-picture Board of Censors on "The Puritan" (Lenauer International Films). Because the Board of Regents of the State of New York has upheld this death sentence, the picture cannot be shown in New York State. But if you cross into Pennsylvania, New Jersey, or Connecticut you can see it. In these states, in all but six of the forty-eight in fact, your morals are not so carefully protected. Protected from what?

Story and dialogue of "The Puritan"—a French film with English titles—were written by the famous Irish author Liam O'Flaherty. Moviegoers will remember his Hollywood picture "The Informer," which won high praise everywhere for its artistic and dramatic excellence. His new picture is even more impressive. Its theme is timely and important—the workings of a fanatical mind. What it advocates very effectively is tolerance.

In a short opening sequence from which the directors of our gangster pictures could learn the effectiveness of restraint, a sensitive young man with a Savonarola face murders a young woman. From there on we watch two parallel actions—the police tracking down the murderer, the murderer tracking down himself. While he exposes his thoughts and instincts, the commissioner uncovers the facts. The suspect does not drink or smoke. He hates vulgarity. He has resigned from a secret society of moral vigilantes because it was not radical enough for him. He has burned books like a Nazi. He is a fanatic who sees everything out of proportion. Gradually his psychology and his crime become clear. His victim and a young doctor had been lovers. He had wanted to stop the affair. Why? Was it merely because their behavior—which is not shown—offended his moral sensibilities? There is a remarkable scene in which the



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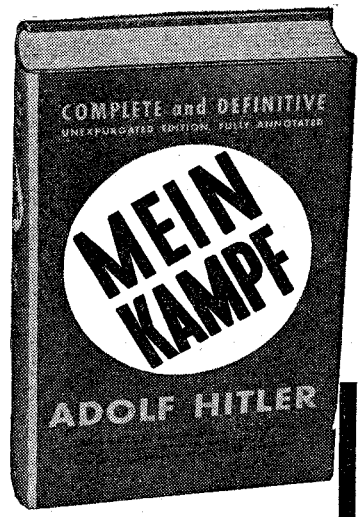

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THIRTY EAST TWENTIETH STREET
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murderer goes to church to confess, not knowing any more whether God or Satan has inspired him, but still rationalizing. Finally, cornered by the realization of his own motives and by the police, he admits the murder—and his suppressed love for his victim.

In presenting the story the author, the director (Jeff Musso), and the actors (Jean-Louis Barrault as the fanatic, Pierre Fresnay as the police commissioner, both outstanding) have taken precautions not to be misunderstood. They have avoided every vulgar appeal. Most of the scenes, especially the meeting between the victim's aunt, a simple, noble peasant woman, and the murderer, are full of chaste poetry. In a cheap Paris night club sin does not look so slick and seductive as it does in California. No, there is no abuse of the basic idea of the picture. It is a work of art in which every detail serves the high purpose of the whole. Fanaticism is exposed very humanly: the sick state of mind into which an unhappy, highly intelligent, and honest youth falls in his futile attempt to escape from, instead of facing, the contradictions to which the human being is born. The film has only one effect. One says to oneself: Be tolerant! Why, then, this unbelievably stupid judgment of the censors?

The censors are not obliged to explain their rulings and they don't. They may call black white and white black, and so it is. In comparison with "The Puritan" the majority of pictures approved by them are swinish affairs. The decision in this case seems to be a mystery—but only if one tries to find an explanation in the legal basis and the practice of the board, which normally objects to too long a kiss or too beautiful a leg. Here something new and dangerous has happened. The censors have objected to an idea, the same idea, shockingly enough, on which the United States was founded.

The practical consequences of such an abuse of power should not be underestimated. More and more, audiences are becoming disgusted with the ordinary run of pictures. Entertainment which kills two hours is no longer the only function of the screen. But how can a producer satisfy the growing cultural demand when in doing so he risks losing his tremendous investment?

The decision against "The Puritan" is a hypocritical act against which the whole industry should protest and against which audiences should demonstrate by patronizing the film where it can be shown. The puritans must not be allowed to succeed in suppressing "The Puritan."

"The 400,000,000," Joris Ivens's documentary film about the Chinese-Japanese war (Cameo), illustrates the daily news of the struggle of the Chinese people against a ruthless invader. Here are actual scenes which the most fertile imagination could not conceive. The long sequence of the recapture of Taierchwang by Chinese regulars and guerrillas brings near the reality of the war as no dispatch has yet done. Unforgettable are the poor peasants returning to the ruins of their homes, looking to see whether the stove is intact, and the shots of the railway station after an air bombardment—mutilated children lying between the tracks. "The 400,000,000," like "Crisis—Made in Germany," is proof of the daring and skill of American camera reporters. If you want to know the truth, go and look at it!

FRANZ HOELLERING

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Letters to the Editors

Eyewitnesses Differ

Dear Sirs: For purposes of accuracy, may I be permitted to point out errors of fact and of judgment in the account and comment given in your editorial The Nazis Are Here, concerning the Bund rally in Madison Square Garden, in your issue of March 4.

According to your informants, "Isadore Greenbaum, the lone Jew who attempted to scale the platform in the midst of Kuhn's attack on his race, was beaten up not by the storm troopers but by the police who 'rescued' him. . . ."

This is distinctly untrue. From a vantage point in the press section I was enabled to observe that Greenbaum not only succeeded in reaching the platform but that he was attacked by Nazis in the uniform of the Ordnungsdienst. After the dispersal of his assailants on the platform by the police, Greenbaum was rather roughly removed by them from the hall. Considering the general excitement, however, and the danger of mass hysteria, and in the absence of proof or of presumptive evidence to the contrary, it seems unfair to lay this action of the police to a punitive motive.

From direct experience I would be the first to agree with your general estimation as to the apparent "occupational antagonism [of the police] to all picket lines." Yet it appears to me that your criticism of the city administration and of the police in preventing the carrying out of the announced intention of the Trotskyists to break up the meeting is invalid on the elementary ground of the right of all groups in a democracy to free speech and assembly.

These objections, of course, are not to be understood to be in opposition to your recommendation, in which I heartily concur, that the Nazis should not be permitted to usurp the functions of the police. EDWARD LEAVITT

New York, March 15

[Eyewitnesses of the same event often disagree about its particulars. In this case the eyewitnesses whose report we mentioned in our editorial and whom we have consulted again are as insistent upon the accuracy of their report as Mr. Leavitt is in branding it untrue. These witnesses were seated in the balcony and thus looked down on the proceedings. One of them, moreover, asserts that he has seen the films of the incident, which have not been shown publicly, and that these films confirm the report that Greenbaum was beaten by the police.

Mr. Leavitt implies that we somehow advocated that Nazis should be denied the right of free speech and assembly. We advocated nothing of the sort. We challenged the implication in Newbold Morris's statement that the way to overcome the Nazi pestilence is to shun it. While there might be differences of opinion as to the strategy of counter-demonstration, we think those who chose to picket the Bund meeting had a right to do so. We criticized the police, not for protecting the rights of the Nazis but for interfering with the rights of others and especially for the needless violence used against pickets, to which more than one observer testified.—EDITORS THE NATION.]

Children Without Hope

Dear Sirs: The first ray of light which lit up the gloom of the November pogrom days was the task initiated by the Quakers to bring children to England and Holland. Whoever knows what separation from a beloved child means for any mother would have been deeply impressed by the sight of the great crowds waiting at the doors of the Quaker offices. Every parent wanted to be the first to send his child to safety.

These parents feared not only actual want for their children; even greater was their fear of that destruction of morale which one notices among Jewish children in Germany. For these children lack everything which gives content to the moral life of a child. Above all they are no longer part of any orderly and regulated community life. The Jewish religious idea has little appeal to many of them; the family is for most of them merely the stage for all kinds of excitements and catastrophes. Moreover, the children have a very distinct feeling that their progress at school is not of the least importance to their parents, whose one idea is to find some refuge from their misery. Added to this is the consciousness that they cannot achieve anything by attending school since there is no professional training for Jewish pupils.

These children are living without any future, without any spiritual guidance, and daily and hourly they become more and more used to the idea that they are human beings of the lowest rank. Thus it happens—and this is the most frightful effect—that they gradually see themselves in the same light as the Nazis see them. You may observe children who show indifference and disregard of their teachers, and even of their parents, while they stand up when the Aryan janitor enters the classroom. In the streets you may hear Jewish children calling each other names which are given them by the Nazis, and there are Jewish young people who consent for payment to be photographed for the *Stürmer* to serve as pictures of disgusting types of human beings.

Almost worse than the fate of Jewish children is that of the children of mixed marriages. They are still allowed to attend Aryan schools. What must be their feeling when all the class is forced to buy this or that copy of the *Stürmer* because it is to serve as a basis for the next composition!

Surely, bringing about the mental and moral destruction of the children is the most devilish method of encompassing the fall of a people. Those who have recognized this have only one wish—to awaken in the hearts of men the desire to undertake actively the rescue of these helpless children, to remove them from that poisonous atmosphere of hate and lying, and to take them to a place where human dignity and loving care will instil in them a belief that men are made in God's image for a brighter future.

New York, March 8 H. T.

Protection for Labor

Dear Sirs: Helen Woodward's "Pocket Guide" is followed with interest by many of our members, principally because they value the information in her column and only incidentally because she has been a member of the Board of Directors of the New York League of Women Shoppers since it was established.

We had thought that Mrs. Woodward and *The Nation* did not underestimate the importance of a consumers' organization that acts to improve the working conditions of the men and women who make and sell consumers' goods. Yet we noted in the February 18

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issue of *The Nation* that the League of Women Shoppers was omitted from a list of ten "excellent consumer organizations," although Mrs. Woodward included in this roster the American Association of University Women and the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union, neither of which is primarily a consumers' organization.

Women and men all over the country have come to recognize that shoddy and sometimes dangerous products are the result of low-waged labor and inferior working conditions. Because they wish to belong to a consumers' organization that concerns itself with the quality of merchants' and manufacturers' labor relations, as distinguished from those consumers' organizations that concern themselves with the quality of products, these consumers have formed locals of the League of Women Shoppers in thirteen cities in the West, East, South, and North.

We are hopeful that in some future issue of *The Nation* you will deal with what consumers are doing to bring about more just conditions for laboring men and women.

SOPHIE A. BOYER, President,
New York League of Women Shoppers
New York, March 9

And for Our Pocket-Books

Dear Sirs: My opinion of the work of the League of Women Shoppers is, I think, expressed fully by the fact that I am and have been since its beginning a director of that organization.

In "Pocket Guide" I try each time to say something that will be of direct use when the consumer starts to spend money. Though better goods may be made under union conditions, it is not the chief function of the League of Women Shoppers to bring about the making of such goods. Nor is that the chief function of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union or of the American Association of University Women. But both these latter organizations have a special department which gives advice on marketing.

To be sure the protection of labor on the job is more important than the protection of the buyer's pocket-book. But high wages are not high if they are used up by high prices. The League of Women Shoppers might well have been mentioned in my piece, but since I was listing only groups working directly for the consumer I thought I ought to leave it out.

HELEN WOODWARD
New York, March 15

CONTRIBUTORS

KENNETH G. CRAWFORD is Washington correspondent of the New York *Post*.

ALBERT VITON recently returned to this country from extensive travels in the Balkans.

KLAUS and ERIKA MANN are children of Thomas Mann. They are now living in the United States.

W. H. AUDEN, English poet and critic, is coauthor with Louis MacNeice of "Letters from Iceland" and with Christopher Isherwood of "On the Frontier."

LOUISE BOGAN is poetry critic of the *New Yorker*.

HENRY B. KRANZ is a Viennese journalist living in the United States.

SAMUEL ROMER fought with the International Brigade in Spain. He is now active in the work of National Sharecroppers' Week.

RUSTEM VAMBERY, formerly professor of sociology and criminology at the University of Budapest, is now in the United States on a lecture trip.

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